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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 16 November 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. ERDOS	(Hungary)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WATSON
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

LETTER DATED 5 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF EGYPT, THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, PAKISTAN, SAUDI ARABIA, SENEGAL AND TURKEY ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24620)

LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24761)

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BELGIUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24785)

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24786)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Canada, the Comoros, Croatia, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Jordan, Kuwait, Lithuania, Malaysia, Malta, Norway, Pakistan, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Slovenia, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of Palestine to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misic (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Ghafoorzai (Afghanistan), Mr. Shkurti (Albania), Mr. Hassanov (Azerbaijan), Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Mr. Moumin

(Comoros), Mr. Nobílo (Croatia), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Traxler (Italy), Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Gureckas (Lithuania), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Camilleri (Malta), Mr. Huslid (Norway), Mr. S.M. Khan (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Ni'Mah (Qatar), Mr. Florean (Romania), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Türk (Slovenia), Mr. Khouini (Tunisia), Mr. Aksin (Turkey), Mr. Batiouk (Ukraine) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria and Bangladesh in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hadid (Algeria) and Mr. I. Chowdhury (Bangladesh) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): Let me first of all associate my delegation with those that have complimented you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We look forward to working under your leadership and we are confident that, with your vast experience and with your tremendous skills, the Council will achieve very substantial results during this month.

Let me also pay a very well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Mérimée, who presided over the Council with such distinction last month.

The tragedy that has befallen the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina so soon after its emergence as an independent State Member of the United Nations and the intolerable suffering to which its people are being subjected have shocked the conscience of the entire world. The images of this grotesque dance of death being played out in the cities, villages and detention centres in the countryside have been brought by the international media into our own living-rooms, touching each and every one of us. The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself is threatened with disappearance. My delegation therefore welcomes this debate in the Security Council.

For too long the international community concentrated on the military, peace-keeping aspect, ignoring the political, peacemaking aspects of the crisis. Cease-fires were repeatedly negotiated only to collapse before the ink had even dried. Humanitarian conditions worsened while the parties resorted to such abominable practices as "ethnic cleansing" in their attempts to jockey for the political and military high ground.

My delegation had pointed out on numerous occasions that determined efforts towards a political settlement were the key to a solution, though they must nevertheless go hand in hand with peace-keeping efforts. Only the

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

confidence of the parties, based on a political settlement, would serve to underpin any mutually agreed cease-fire. India therefore welcomed the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in London last August. A few of the comprehensive set of decisions, agreed to by all participants, which emerged from the Conference have been implemented so far, backed by Security Council decisions. Others are under active study in negotiations between the parties and the Steering Committee and its Working Groups in Geneva.

We should like to pay a high tribute to Secretary Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee, and to the Chairmen of the Working Groups, for their immense efforts to find a solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the political side, my delegation has been impressed by the very considerable work that has been done on constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina. As I have said earlier, in these lies the key to a resolution of the tragic situation.

My delegation is of the opinion that any attempt to impose constitutional arrangements from outside would be a recipe for future disaster. But the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina have reposed their faith in the International Conference, and the international community has offered its hand to help them in working out their own constitutional arrangements.

My delegation was encouraged to hear from Lord Owen, in his statement to the Council on 13 November, that all the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina have agreed to use the draft outline constitution as a basis for negotiating a political settlement, that counter-proposals are being made and that negotiations are continuing. It is against this background that my delegation

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

can go along with operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution before us, which urges the parties to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee and on the basis of the draft outline.

On the military side, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has repeatedly been burdened with increased mandates, so much so that it has become, since the adoption of resolution 786 (1992), the largest United Nations peace-keeping operation ever. It continues to operate not only in Croatia but also in Bosnia, under traditional rules of peace-keeping - that is, with the consent and cooperation of all parties.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

It has operated under heavy odds, often in dangerous situations, and has suffered tragic casualties. Its mandate, in part, has included political negotiations. This has been the case in Croatia and also in Bosnia, where very commendable negotiations have been carried out for the reopening of the Sarajevo airport in the past and, more, recently, in the context of the Mixed Military Working Group. This Group, at the level of military commanders, reached an understanding for a cease-fire in Bosnia only a few days ago. It is our fervent hope that this can be consolidated and built upon. My delegation would like to pay a sincere tribute to General Nambiar, the overall commander of UNPROFOR, and his staff for their efforts, their determination and their courage in this difficult and dangerous task.

One concern that my delegation has expressed on several occasions has been that the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole should retain full authority and responsibility over the execution of actions authorized by the Council. My delegation worked with the sponsors in the present instance to provide for effective coordination, through the Secretary-General, of the actions that Member States may take for the inspection and verification of shipping in the Adriatic and on the Danube, under paragraphs 12 and 13 of the draft resolution. The cooperation of the sponsors in amending paragraph 14 of the draft resolution to this effect has met our concern to a considerable extent and will make it possible for us to support the draft resolution.

While on the subject of the draft resolution, let me state that my delegation has no reservation with respect to paragraphs 9 and 10 dealing with some specific commodities. As my delegation understands the matter, the intention and the effect underlying these provisions is to further tighten the existing regime of sanctions to plug loopholes for their evasion. Resolution

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

757 (1992) has already established a comprehensive sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro.

The humanitarian situation in Bosnia is, to say the least, disastrous. Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the civilian population has often been exploited by all sides as a weapon of war. As the draft resolution before us points out, the provision of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina has become an important element in the Council's effort to restore peace and security in the region.

We heard from Mrs. Ogata last Friday about the efforts being exerted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bosnia, despite growing obstacles and obstructions. As Mrs. Ogata pointed out, major routes used by UNHCR convoys cross front lines that are constantly shifting, and there are worrying signs that humanitarian aid is being targeted by all parties, each for its own different reasons. My delegation would like to record its particular appreciation for the work being done against such difficult odds by UNHCR, as well as by the International Committee of the Red Cross. UNPROFOR has also been involved in humanitarian work, notably for the protection of humanitarian convoys across Bosnia. Its full deployment and its cooperation with UNHCR are important elements in this task.

The Council heard a statement from Mr. Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur for Yugoslavia appointed by the Commission on Human Rights on the violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia. It is my delegation's position, which it has expressed in the past, that the respective competences of the major organs of the United Nations should be strictly respected. Human rights reports of this nature should rightly be presented to and examined by the competent organ, in this case the Commission on Human Rights and the Gereral Assembly.

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Yet, we have noted that the enabling resolution appointing the Special Rapporteur specifically included reporting to the Security Council. Further, the Bosnian situation is unprecedented in its multidimensionality. It has become well-nigh impossible to separate the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the crisis. Thus, while we must take into consideration these gross violations of international humanitarian law in the findings and decisions of the Council, where they directly impinge on the political-military situation, as the Council has done in resolutions 771 (1992) and 780 (1992), we must not lose track of the fact that the organs competent to act on the Special Rapporteur's recommendations remain the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights.

The parties in Bosnia must not lose faith that the international community is determined to work towards a just and fair solution. Some of the most distinguished and eminent personalities are devoting themselves to this end within the framework of the International Conference. This Council is ready to work in consonance with them to give its authority and weight to their decisions. Indeed, the United Nations is an equal participant in the International Conference. The parties must not forget that Bosnia is their land. It belongs to all of them, and in the final analysis it is they who have to find a solution acceptable to all of them.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Hungary.

Hungary, along with some other countries in the Security Council, well before the assault launched against Bosnia and Herzegovina and the siege of Sarajevo, had drawn the Council's attention to the potential dangers inherent in the situation in that Republic, not only for the region, but also for

(The President)

international peace and security. We also stressed at that time the need to take adequate preventive measures to prevent the extension of the conflict already raging in other parts of the defunct Federation to Bosnia and Herzegovina and other regions of the former Yugoslavia. We had stressed the increased role that the United Nations should play there and the importance of deploying observers of the world Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere. We put forth these ideas as a country which, by virtue of its geographical proximity and for historical and economic reasons, has been and remains one of the most affected by the crisis in what was once Yugoslavia.

Hungary, well aware of the ethnocentric nationalist motivations that played an important role in the outbreak of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, was not taken wholly by surprise by the repetition of this aggression, mutatis mutandis, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor by the re-enactment of a familiar scenario that was well tested during the early phases of the conflict. Our public opinion was none the less greatly shocked by the events that later took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The massacres, the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of refugees obliged to quit their homes, the pictures of concentration camps with detainees behind barbed wire, and the deliberate acts of destruction reminded us of the darkest pages of contemporary European history. And yet, in 1945, after the end of the Second World War, the peoples of the United Nations expressed their resolve to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and undertook to do their utmost to ensure that such horrors were never repeated. Thus, it is a tragic paradox that, 47 years later, the same horrors are re-emerging in a Europe which, after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the adoption of the Charter of Paris, had finally succeeded in transcending the divisions of four decades

(The President)

and had decided to opt for the path leading to the establishment of a free, united and democratic European continent.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and particularly the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, continue seriously to imperil international peace and security. They are grounds for extremely serious concern. We believe that the way in which international organizations react to this growing crisis and the way in which they demonstrate their capacity and readiness to act are increasingly assuming the character of a crucial precedent. It is vital for the international forums addressing the problems of the former Yugoslavia to yield tangible results, for otherwise the international community would merely be sending an extremely equivocal message, fraught with dire consequences, to fomenters of unrest around the world. We should also bear in mind the fact that, in the eyes of the international public, the hopes focused on the United Nations effectiveness in conflict settlement appear today to be well justified on the basis of the achievements of the world Organization in the recent past, in particular in the area of the United Nations contribution to putting down aggression.

(The President)

Since the beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia the Security Council has repeatedly addressed the issue, adopting a large number of resolutions on it. The International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia offered us the right framework for the achievement of a lasting political settlement of the conflict. The efforts of the two Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the Conference are praiseworthy, and the progress made in the difficult and delicate negotiations should be properly appreciated. We must note, however, that many important Security Council resolutions remain dead letters, and that the decisions of the International Conference continue to be ignored.

Serb nationalism, both within and outside Serbia, and regular and irregular forces of that nationalism undoubtedly bear the heaviest burden of responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and its extension to other regions. All the peoples, all the nationalities, living in those lands are victims of this conflict - Bosnian Muslims, Croats, Serbs and others, who throughout hiistory have woven close ties with Hungarians, and whose sufferings we therefore feel deeply. One could hardly be more convinced than we are, as inhabitants of that region of Europe, that this kind of extreme nationalism cannot serve the interests of the Serbs themselves, wherever they may live, and that they must find their path to salvation in a different policy.

The international community has stated and restated that any acquisition of territory by force is illegal and unacceptable. It must reject and isolate those who champion such policies.

We are deeply concerned about the persistent, massive and systematic violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, documented in great detail in the report of Mr. Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the

(The President)

Commission on Human Rights, and in his statement to the Security Council. Hungary vigorously condemns efforts to bring about the creation of so-called nation-States through "ethnic cleansing" and the establishment of "ethnically pure" territories. We denounce the atrocities committed for this purpose and the expulsion of national or religious minorities. The already tense situation in this regard threatens to engulf other territories in the north and south of Serbia and beyond. In a region such as Central and Eastern Europe it demonstrates incredible ignorance or criminal irresponsibility to seek to achieve such objectives, for that would drag the whole region into an apocalyptic chain of events, with incalculable consequences.

The number of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina who have had to leave their homes has risen to 2 million, and, with the continued "ethnic cleansing" operations and continued fighting, fresh waves of refugees and displaced persons may be expected. Hungary, a neighbouring country which was among the first to feel and absorb the effects of this war, has from the beginning taken an active part in the international efforts to give refuge to those who have fled the fighting and degradation. Their number in Hungary is now approximately 80,000. With the approach of winter, the human tragedy unfolding before our very eyes will take on even more disastrous dimensions. The international community, and the Security Council in particular, must remain permanently and actively seized of this problem, unprecedented in Europe since the end of the Second World War.

We are fully aware that it is impossible to address the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina by exclusively humanitarian means, that it is unthinkable to restore peace in the country simply by feeding the population and healing its wounds. But Hungary believes that in view of the alarming humanitarian situation it is vital to take practical steps without delay to overcome the

(The President)

imminent dangers and the immediate difficulties by setting up safe areas for humanitarian purposes in various regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These areas could serve as safe havens for the civilian population, regardless of ethnic or religious background.

The struggle for the survival of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues. The international community has not yet succeeded in halting the aggression against this country. On the contrary, two thirds of its territory have been occupied by the aggressors, who continue to benefit from cross-border complicity and who no longer bother to disguise their strategic territorial ambitions. After reflecting on this question, we believe that we must avoid the fundamental error of equating an aggressor that continues to trample underfoot its international commitments and a victim striving, with the means at its disposal, to depend itself, striving to exist.

We are profoundly concerned over the failure of international efforts to end the despicable, abhorrent policies being pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the signs are that everything we have done is far from being enough. We must take much more vigorous action to dispel the illusion that seems to prevail in some quarters that the world accepts the policy of fait accompli. We must think of the consequences of a resolute and consistent attitude by the community of nations for other parts of the planet suffering bloody conflicts.

Hungary believes that, faced with a worsening of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other regions of the former Yugoslavia, the Security Council must act with the necessary resolve. It should pursue even more vigorously its activities to ensure respect for its resolutions by all parties; strictly apply the sanctions regimes that have been imposed; bring about a cessation of hostilities; condemn any attempt to undermine the territorial integrity of

(The President)

Bosnia and Herzegovina; call for an end to all foreign interference in the country; bring to justice those responsible for violations of human rights and humanitarian international law; assist humanitarian operations; and contribute to an overall political settlement of the conflict.

I now resume my functions as President.

The next speaker is the representative of Italy. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TRAXLER (Italy) (interpretation from French): It is a sincere pleasure for me, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I should also like to congratulate the Permanent Representative of France on the highly effective way in which he conducted the Council's business last month.

(spoke in English)

Italy welcomes and fully supports the emphasis which the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom placed on the important role played by the European Community in the search for a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Italy has made a significant contribution to these efforts - particularly in the fields of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and humanitarian relief - sustaining, moreover, the loss of a number of Italian officers and airmen.

Furthermore, as a renewed sign of our determination to do our best to help in relieving the terrible humanitarian problems that confront the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs announced last Thursday our willingness to provide asylum to several hundred refugees from the region, in addition to those already admitted in the past few months, and in particular to persons held in detention camps.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

Deeply concerned over the dramatic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even more so over the inhuman practice of "ethnic cleansing", which recalls some of the darkest pages of European history, the Italian Government welcomes the draft outline constitution proposed by the co-chairmanship of the Geneva Conference, which, while guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, offers to all the ethnic components of that country a concrete possibility of re-establishing the peaceful coexistence that prevailed among them for centuries.

(Mr. Traxler, Italy)

As Chairman of the Council of the Western European Union (WEU), Italy has been leading the operations of joint patrolling and monitoring in the Adriatic Sea, while coordinating those activities with the efforts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). For that reason we welcome the provisions of the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council concerning the strengthening of the enforcement of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in particular the authorization to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations. We are convinced that these new rules will greatly enhance the effectiveness of the embargo, helping the naval forces of the WEU and NATO in the Adriatic Sea successfully to discover and defeat any attempt to violate or circumvent by sea the provisions of resolutions 713 (1991) and 757 (1992) and those of the draft resolution to be adopted by the Council.

In this connection I wish to inform the Council that I have taken due note of the somewhat surprising and certainly totally unexpected allegations contained in the statement of the Permanent Representative of the United States. The Italian Government, as soon as it is provided, through the Sanctions Committee, with all necessary data, will, I assure you, conduct the most thorough investigation in order to ascertain the facts. Should the said allegations be confirmed, my Government will immediately initiate the proper judiciary procedures in order to punish the culprits.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-NI'MAH (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also wish to express my heartfelt thanks to your predecessor the Permanent Representative of France, Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for his able and excellent leadership of the Council's work last month.

I am pleased to extend to you, Mr. President, our thanks for your commendable invitation to convene this meeting in response to the appeal by the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in light of the existing dangers that may lead to a further deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The State of Qatar, like every other State that respects human rights, and I do not speak of the Islamic States only, is alarmed at the suffering that has been the lot, for many months, of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The situation there is reminiscent of the horrors of the atrocities of the Second World War. We had hoped that such horrors had disappeared for good in our times, in a world where the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights prevail.

It is a source of shame for the international community that it has been unable so far to put a halt to the massacres and an end to the tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina whose land has been violated in gross aggression and against whom the crime of ethnic cleansing and other crimes against humanity are being perpetrated. The consequences of such crimes have proved impossible to mitigate.

As the United Nations Special Rapporteur has noted, the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being the target of mass extermination.

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

Although the Security Council adopted resolution 781 (1992) which bans military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian aircraft have continued to breach the terms of that resolution and have continued to bomb Bosnia and Herzegovina and vent their wrath on its people with impunity, without any fear of the international community.

Heavy Serbian guns continue to shell civilian targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite the fact that Serbian troops have agreed to lay down their heavy weapons and place them under the supervision of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Bosnian defence forces are unable to repel such aggression for lack of ammunition and because it is impossible for them to obtain new weapons thanks to the resolution's embargo on victim and aggressor alike.

The matter is extremely serious. I do not exaggerate when I say that the application of the embargo to victim and aggressor alike is cynical and preposterous and that it goes against the human conscience. Self-defence is a principal right enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We are in duty bound to enable Bosnia and Herzegovina to defend itself as long as the international community is unable to ward off the Serbian aggression by recourse to the provisions of the Charter, lacking as it does authentic resolve and real determination.

The international community has a duty to repudiate the Serbian aggression. The aggressor is a stronger and larger party and the victim of aggression is a smaller and weaker neighbour and a Member of the United Nations. Aggression must be prohibited in all cases. Aggression cannot be permitted in certain cases and prohibited in others. The Government in Belgrade, which continues to organize and engineer aggression against the

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the smaller and weaker party, must desist. Every State, large and small, strong and weak, must abide by the provisions of the United Nations Charter through unanimous adherence to the principles of international law and by settling disputes by legal means.

(Mr. Al-Ni'mah, Qatar)

This would buttress the pillars of international legality and lay the foundations of a world imbued with tolerance, justice and peace.

My delegation fully supports the adoption by the Security Council of a resolution that would lift the embargo on the export of weapons to Bosnia and Herzegovina. So long as the international community remains unable or hesitant to deter the aggressor by force, to restore usurped rights and to put a halt to the horrors heaped upon the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Continuation of the weapons embargo, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, amounts to support for the aggressor. We cannot believe that the international community and the Security Council would accept that or turn a blind eye to it. We therefore join the other States that have called upon the Security Council to adopt a resolution to that effect without delay, for otherwise the aggressor will persist in its recalcitrance and aggression, and the international community will continue to appear to be impotent in the face of that continuing aggression. This is something you would not accept and is not acceptable to the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Qatar for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Comoros. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOUMIN (Comoros): The delegation of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros joins the delegations that have preceded it in extending congratulations to you, Sir, as the President of the Council for the month of November. We are confident that, under your able guidance, the Council will successfully carry out its responsibilities.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

My delegation would also like to thank Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee, the Permanent Representative of France, for his remarkable stewardship of the Council during the month of October.

My delegation is pleased that at long last the Council has agreed to the request of the member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference for the holding of these meetings, which we consider to be very important. We regret the delay; however, it is better late than never.

The human suffering caused by the aggression carried out against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serbia and Montenegro through its puppet Serbian nationalists, with the object of "ethnic cleansing", has been allowed to continue too long. It is about time Member States were given the opportunity to air the deep feelings of their peoples on an issue that has caused too much pain and suffering and aroused deep emotions, anxiety and desperation in the Islamic community throughout the world.

It is our intention to air the innermost feelings of the defennceless victims of the aggression - the young, the women, the weak and all those who are suffering and whose voices cannot be heard, and the feelings of many Muslims who helplessly witness the unjustifiable elimination of their brothers and sisters. In doing so, we will at times use expressions that are less diplomatic, and language that might be offensive or unpalatable to some. To those we might offend, we ask their forgiveness, understanding and sympathy.

It is proper for us to begin by expressing our deep gratitude to Ambassador Edward Perkins, the Permanent Representative of the United States of America, for the tone and the contents of his statement to the Council last Friday. Mr. Ambassador, the people for whom we speak appreciate the steadfast

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

position of your Government, that of the United States of America, on the crisis of the Balkans.

We are convinced that if the Council had adopted Ambassador Perkin's tone from the beginning of the crisis, instead of the piecemeal, toothless, half-hearted measures it adopted, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina would not be what it is today. We can only hope that time is still on our side, and that the Council will have the political will to take the serious steps that are necessary to reverse the situation.

The moment has arrived for the Security Council, acting on behalf of the international community, to prove wrong the perceptions held by our uninformed Muslim masses on the double standards of the United Nations in dealing with aggression. The impression is that the Council has not done enough to stop the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is true that the Council has devoted considerable time to the question. However, it is our opinion that it has failed to address the fundamental issue, which is aggression. Most of the resolutions adopted by the Council deal with the humanitarian aspects of the problem, which, although very important, are not at the core of the problem. The main issue of the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been adequately addressed by the Council.

Our people fail to comprehend the attitude of some members of the Security Council who are adamantly opposed to the forceful implementation of the no-fly zone in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the Serbs use fighter planes to decimate the people of Bosnia, in spite of the fact that this is a crucial element of the London Accords.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

Our less educated brothers who are not well versed in the intricacies of international affairs are justifiably puzzled by the apparent double standards. The same Powers that were so compassionate and understanding and eager to enforce the no-fly zone in Iraq in order to stop Muslims from killing Muslims - a commendable attitude for which we are grateful - do not seem to have the same compassion and eagerness when it comes to stopping the Serbs from killing Muslims.

Unfortunately this kind of attitude can be wrongly construed in the minds of the Islamic Umma to mean that the international community is silently conspiring or acquiescing in the final elimination of the Muslims from the corner of Europe. At this juncture I believe it would be proper for me to quote from Lord Owen's statement before the Council last Friday:

> "The Islamic world, rightly, would accuse us of racism against the Bosnian Muslims and hold it against us for centuries to come."
>
> (S/PV.3134, page 24)

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

It is now up to the Security Council to take bold steps to stop Serbian aggression against the Bosnian people in order to put to rest and eliminate that perception by the Islamic umma, which represents more than a billion human beings.

We believe that in this crisis, the States members of the European Community have a moral obligation to protect the territorial integrity and the unity of the States that were part of the former Yugoslavia. They encouraged the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, and thus they should protect those who decided to break away. Consequently, they have a moral duty to protect the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina by all means, including the use of force. Act now before it is too late, lest your hesitations come back to haunt you in the future.

Those who suffered under Nazism should know full well that "ethnic cleansing" can neither be acquiesced to nor tolerated.

My delegation is grateful for the statement of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights. His revealing report on the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia has helped us all to comprehend the true nature of the problem we are dealing with. We should also like to pay homage to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for the truly magnificent efforts she and her dedicated staff have made for the benefit of the millions of people who have been rendered homeless in the former Yugoslavia.

We listened with great interest to the statements of Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, who presented us with two outstanding reports. We cannot but be grateful for their untiring efforts to find a peaceful solution to the tragedy

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

in Yugoslavia. They should be commended for their efforts and useful suggestions. We wish them well in their most difficult and thankless task.

My delegation was highly impressed by their well-presented arguments against the partial and selective lifting of the arms embargo on Yugoslavia imposed by Security Council resolution 713 (1991). Because of their position as co-Chairmen of the International Conference, we appreciate their sentiments on the issue. However, we beg to differ with them and with those who share their analysis of the subject. We are firmly convinced that the Council is duty-bound to lift the embargo in order to allow the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to import the heavy arms it needs to defend itself.

It is true that in most cases prohibiting arms sales tends to dampen conflict, while pushing arms sales deepens it. However, in the case of aggression such as is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the aggressor outguns its victim, it cannot but have a positive impact on the morale of the victim of aggression and be dissuasive to the aggressor - particularly when the two Co-Chairmen have not informed us that they perceive even an atom of desire on the part of the Serbian aggressor to settle the matter at the negotiating table. The Serbians always sign cease-fire agreements and become the first to break them.

From what we have heard during this debate, we are further convinced that the Serbian aggressors have as their single goal the elimination of Muslims from Bosnia at any cost. Therefore, we should not fool ourselves into believing that the Serbs will understand the civilized language of negotiations. Deep inside, all members are convinced, as we are, that the only language the Serbs understand is force. Have then the courage and the political will to take decisions towards that end. It is only when the Serbs

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

realize that their goals are unattainable by force that they will have an incentive to search for a peaceful solution to the problem.

The only language bullies and aggressors understand is brute force, and since, as Lord Owen remarked, those who have the power to deter aggression by massive military intervention do not have the will to act, does not the Council then have the moral responsibility and obligation to give a fighting chance to the victims of aggression? We have no right to put the aggressor and the victim on an equal footing, particularly when we all agree that the aggressor happens to be the one with heavy weaponry. What moral justification does the Council - which is the organ entrusted with the maintenance of peace and security and which is supposed to protect the weak from the strong - have to withhold from the weak, aggressed people of Bosnia and Herzegovina the right to defend themselves, particularly when the Council lacks the political will to help them?

In the name of the dead and dying heroes of Bosnia, in the name of the future martyrs of Bosnia, in the name of the young children and women, in the name of the orphans and the widows of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the name of all those who suffer morally because of their inability to alleviate the plight of their brothers and sisters in Bosnia, and to all those for whom we are duty-bound to speak out because their voices cannot be heard, we urge and call upon the Security Council to lift without further delay the arms embargo on the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We further request that those who are in a position to and have the will to provide appropriate assistance, which will help the Bosnians to deter Serbian aggression, hasten in doing so.

In conclusion, we have to state that time is running out for this lofty body to act. The fatal hour is upon us, and therefore we must take decisions

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

that will not allow history to judge us harshly. The credibility of the Security Council and that of the United Nations is being tested. For more than six months, we have allowed the Serbs to kill and displace Bosnian Muslims. A catastrophic war has been raging in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the conflagration threatens to spill over to the other parts of the former Yugoslavia, all because of the Serbs' desire for a greater, "pure" and homogeneous Serbian territory.

The time has come for the Council to send a firm and unambiguous message to the Serbs that the patience of the international community has run out, and to do so by adopting measures that will deter the Serbs from their aggressive behaviour, with the clear mandate of enforcing those measures by all means available, including the use of force.

(Mr. Moumin, Comoros)

Realizing that the Council might ignore our pleas, and in line with its international responsibilities, my Government will continue to support all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement. We firmly support the new proposal for a constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina based on the principles of democracy, the protection of human and minority rights and the rejection of all plans based on ethnic or religious separation. The restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only basis for an acceptable peaceful solution.

We cannot end our statement without paying a deserved tribute to the United Nations Protection Force, from its commander to its base units, and to all those who are helping to alleviate suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Comoros for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HUSLID (Norway) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I extend to you my greetings and congratulations.

(spoke in English)

The atrocities committed against the civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina call for our unanimous condemnation. We strongly support the call for an immediate cessation of all hostilities. It is necessary to continue to search for a political solution and to act jointly in the spirit of solidarity. The continuing involvement of the Security Council emphasizes the grave concern of the world community and the need for a peaceful negotiated settlement. The principal tools in our efforts will be the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, along with persuasion and mediation.

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

It is our firm conviction that the implementation of the London Agreement and the ongoing Geneva International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia under the most able leadership of its Co-Chairmen, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, with its broad-based approach, represents the best and perhaps the last chance to settle the conflict by political means. It must continue to have our wholehearted support. We would also stress that all parties to the conflict share responsibility for establishing peace if the Geneva process is to succeed. We must encourage the forces of moderation in all camps and those willing and able to look ahead and take responsibility for finding a peaceful solution.

No attempt to redraw existing borders by means of force must be permitted, and an administrative redivision along purely ethnic lines resulting from "ethnic cleansing" must be avoided.

The Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina today faces a critical security and supply situation. The tragic flood of refugees and displaced persons poses a challenge to the international community as a whole. We must do our utmost to assist them in terms of both humanitarian aid and security. This is of particular importance in connection with the approaching winter in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the human suffering which might follow. It is vitally important that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees be given the necessary support. Meeting the basic needs of refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina serves a double purpose, in that it also acts as a barrier to the infamous practice of "ethnic cleansing".

We are deeply concerned about the human-rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In her address to the General Assembly in September, Prime Minister Brundtland called for the establishment of an international tribunal to punish all those responsible for war crimes. Security Council

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

resolution 780 (1992), providing for the establishment of an impartial Commission of Experts, is an important step in this context. This initiative should be followed up and supplemented. We commend Lord Owen's proposal to bring the Council of Europe in to exercise international judicial control of respect for human rights and a future constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Let me also draw attention to the report of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe under the so-called Moscow Human Dimension Mechanism Mission to Croatia, and the proposal that a committee of experts from interested States be convened as soon as possible in order to prepare a draft treaty establishing an international ad hoc tribunal for certain crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia. We commend this proposal to the international community for appropriate action. Our efforts in connection with the registration and documentation of violations of human rights must be expedited. There should be no doubt that we are all working energetically together to secure respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.

In a situation with an almost complete breakdown of trust, where the parties act on their worst suspicions, the rapid deployment of United Nations observers on Bosnia's borders is particularly important and has our full support.

The proposed strengthening of sanctions is a clear message to all those involved in contraband activities that the breaking of the United Nations-imposed sanctions will not be tolerated by the world community. The draft resolution before the Council represents an important step to ensure effective implementation of the sanctions. Its unanimous adoption by this Council would be a timely message to all those who bear responsibility for the present tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Huslid, Norway)

Today we join others in calling on the parties to stop the hostilities, respect the cease-fire and commit themselves to a political settlement.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Norway for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Lithuania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GURECKAS (Lithuania): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and I wish you great success during the Council's deliberations on extremely important and difficult issues.

Please allow me also to express my appreciation for this opportunity to address the Security Council, the most important body of the United Nations, entrusted with the weighty task of maintaining peace and security in our interdependent world.

The Lithuanian delegation wishes to voice its views on the critical issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina because of the apprehension of Lithuania's Government and people over the dire consequences of successful aggression against that country. If the Serbian conquests and the tragic results of "ethnic cleansing" are allowed to stand, it will set an unfortunate precedent for all potential aggressors around the world. We already see certain aspects of Serbian aggression re-enacted in the Dniester region of Moldova and Abkhazia in Georgia. It is not difficult to foresee that there will be more to come, since Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina has to date been a low-cost, low-risk campaign with high yields. Even though Bosnian Serbs may have valid political aspirations, nothing can justify the armed aggression, massive expulsions and killing of innocent civilian populations taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Gureckas, Lithuania)

Nevertheless, we understand that there may be valid reasons why the Security Council, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international bodies find it impossible or inadvisable to intervene in order to defend Bosnia and Herzegovina from aggression. However, if the international community cannot provide effective defence, it cannot morally deny the right of self-defence to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The right to self-defence is an inherent right of any sovereign State. It is one of the fundamental principles of international law, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. No international body has the right to take it away or to curb it, especially if it cannot or will not provide an adequate defence for the victimized. To continue to impose a stranglehold on a victim engaged in a life or death struggle is morally and legally unacceptable, just as is the non-differentiation between aggressor and victim.

For those reasons, Lithuania urges the Security Council seriously to consider the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina so that that sovereign State can at the very least defend itself from the ruthless onslaught of aggressor forces.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Lithuania for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Croatia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statemnt

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): My country is honoured by the opportunity to address the Security Council for the first time. Let me express our special and deepest admiration for you, Mr. President, for the Secretary-General, for

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the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, for the Special Rapporteur on human rights in Yugoslavia and for the High Commissioner for Refugees for their brave efforts to restore peace and bring an end to human suffering. Croatia is grateful for all the efforts that the Security Council has made to stop the aggression against two States Members of the United Nations - the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are also grateful to the troop-contributing countries, which are sparing no effort and no risk in order to help.

In his recent letter to the Secretary-General, the President of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, welcomed the indisputable results that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had achieved in putting an end to the war in Croatia and in initiating the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from the occupied territories south of Dubrovnik. Unfortunately, implementation of the existing Vance plan is still being seriously delayed and the situation in the occupied areas is continuously deteriorating. These disturbing facts have been officially confirmed by the highest officials of the United Nations and of UNPROFOR.

At this moment we are witnessing the consistent militarization of the United Nations Protected Areas in spite of the fact that all the Serbian insurgents and paramilitary forces should have been disarmed and disbanded a long time ago. Refugees and displaced persons still are not able to return to their homes in the United Nations Protected Areas; the Croatian Government is still not allowed to establish its control inside the "pink zones"; big parts of the Croatian international boundaries - recognized by the international community - are not yet under the control of UNPROFOR authorities; essential conditions for establishing a framework for the reintegration of all the

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occupied territories - through implementation of the constitutional Law on Minorities and the Law on Abolition - have not been met. Therefore, President Tudjman has proposed the consistent and immediate implementation of all the relevant Security Council resolutions, and has asked for the strengthening of the UNPROFOR mandate in accordance with Chapter VII and Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Croatia finds it necessary to require enforcement of the UNPROFOR actions so that all paramilitary formations inside the United Nations Protected Areas can be disarmed, the expulsion of the non-Serb population halted and the unbearable anarchy in the United Nations Protected Areas brought to an end. We should like to see, through implementation of Security Council resolutions and broadening of the mandate of UNPROFOR, the establishment of the conditions for the gradual reintegration of the United Nations Protected Areas into the legal, political, economic and social system of the Republic of Croatia.

We believe it is necessary to underline the serious deterioration of the Vance plan, because what is happening in the United Nations Protected Areas cannot be separated from the political, military and humanitarian situation in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the United Nations peace plan in Croatia is not implemented, that will decrease chances for the success of the even more complex peace plan in Bosnia.

Furthermore, failure of the peace-keeping plan in the Republic of Croatia would open the door for recognition of the fruits of the aggression launched against Bosnia and Herzegovina. New militarization of the United Nations Protected Areas has resulted in increasing Serbian firepower being supplied across the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The weakness of UNPROFOR and its lack of determination are providing fruitful soil for the rise of an

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aggressive Serbian policy, which was bluntly demonstrated in a recent attempt to proclaim the unification of the occupied territories in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina into a Serbian artificial State entity - the final goal being to become a part of greater Serbia. Therefore, ongoing preparations for the plebiscite for the unification of these territories should be condemned by the Security Council and prevented by UNPROFOR.

Freezing the ongoing situation inside the United Nations Protected Areas has enabled Serbian forces to transfer the majority of their manpower to the battlefront in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From the occupied territories in Bosnia and Herzegovina new attacks are being launched on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and a constant flow of supplies is making possible the ongoing occupation of Croatian soil. At the same time, people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are starving to death because the essential humanitarian corridors - provided for in Security Council resolution 776 (1992) - have not yet been established. Intensified Serbian aggression and constant "ethnic cleansing" are making the already catastrophic situation even worse. New tides of refugees are putting on Croatia an even bigger burden than the sanctions imposed by Security Council resolution 757 (1992) have put on Serbia and Montenegro.

The Republic of Croatia was among the first countries in the world to recognize the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In defending Bosnia and Herzegovina from Serbian aggression and in sheltering Bosnia's refugees, Croatia and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina have done more than all the other countries combined. The total number of refugees in the Republic of Croatia - 750,000 - is almost equal to the number of people employed in that country. The result has been

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devastating inflation and such a serious deterioration of the standard of living in my country that the majority of the population is facing the danger of malnutrition.

In the territory of western Herzegovina, where Croats make up 90 per cent of the total population, there are today more Muslim refugees than Croat residents. Areas under the control of the Croatian Defence Council are the only part of Bosnia and Herzegovina where Muslims can feel safe and secure from the Serbian onslaught. In spite of that, while the world passively watches the Serbian conquests and continuation of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia is criticized for its unwillingness to receive every new wave of refugees.

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Croatia has already proposed establishing safe zones for the refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the most efficient and, from a political point of view, the most valuable approach to this appalling situation. These safe zones should primarily be organized in and around major besieged towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina by lifting the Serbian sieges and by opening permanent humanitarian corridors through to them. Any other solution would only contribute to the ongoing Serbian "ethnic cleansing".

The international community also launches enormous diplomatic and media pressure against Croatia whenever the defence and survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina are at stake. Croatia has - in accordance with the Joint Agreements signed by the Presidents of the two Republics - offered military help to the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the Bosnian Government forces in an effort to prevent, or at least to ease, the terrifying consequences of the genocidal policy of "ethnic cleansing" that is being executed by the Serbian side. Despite this fact, Croatia has constantly been accused of invading and occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia has been named a traitor to the Muslims, and accused of holding secret negotiations with the Serbs on the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, even though Croatian forces have been bravely defending Bosanski Brod, hopelessly waiting for the international humanitarian corridor to be established along that route. Not only has the United Nations Protection Force never opened the corridor, but neighbouring cities in Croatia, particularly Slavonski Brod, were shelled, barbarously, for months. The Croatian units have therefore been forced to retreat.

We faced the same challenges and doubts once normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations began under the auspices of the Geneva conference, because many tried to interpret this, unjustifiably, as a betrayal of the

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Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, no further progress has been made in this regard so far, owing to the lack of decisive international pressure on the Belgrade authorities.

There has been no change in the policy of the Republic of Croatia with regard to the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia, and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were the first to support the constitutional framework proposed by Co-Chairmen Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen at the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. We also strongly support the negotiations in the Mixed Military Working Group and a common political and defence alliance between Muslims and Croats aimed at achieving a cessation of hostilities and providing political solutions.

Peace and post-war recovery are our priorities; we would certainly not like to be drawn into the endless bloodshed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But we remain determined in supporting a constitutional and political solution in Bosnia and Herzegovina that will also afford equal rights for the Croatian people. In that regard, we are ready to accept any negotiated solution agreed between the three constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatia has made a significant effort to stop the distressing, though isolated, incidents between Croatian and Muslim forces in some areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These incidents have largely been orchestrated attempts to split the Croatian-Muslim alliance against Serbian aggression, or reflected the then differing views of Muslims and Croats concerning the constitutional future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

To our great discontent, we must stress that Croatia has time and again been used as a scapegoat for the mounting human tragedy that is spreading throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. We do not think that the way towards peace

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is to say that the aggressor and his victim are both equally guilty. There is no doubt that in the horrible war in the former Yugoslavia, the Serbian side is the aggressor and Croats, Muslims and other non-Serbs are the victims. It is high time for determined action by the Security Council. It is time to halt the aggression and isolate and punish the aggressor. It is time to enable Bosnia and Herzegovina to assume its legitimate right of self-defence. It is time to force the Serbian insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia, and their Belgrade masters, finally to accept the principles and decisions of the Internaticnal Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Croatia wants Bosnia to have peace and to retain its integrity, not only for the sake of the legitimate rights of the Croatian population in our neighbouring States, but also for the sake of the historical, geopolitical, economic and strategic ties between the two countries. In urging the Security Council to create the necessary conditions for UNPROFOR to conclude its mandate in Croatia successfully we are trying to enable the United Nations to transfer the brave and noble peace-keeping forces to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Serbian aggression is still continuing. Croatia's ultimate goal remains firm bilateral relations and continued friendship with Bosnia and Herzegovina based on a constitutional solution fully acceptable to all three of the constituent nations of that country.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Azerbaijan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HASSANOV (Azerbaijan) (interpretation from Russian): Allow me, Sir, to begin by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during November. We are sure that your enormous experience and authority will ensure the success of the Council's work and will serve the cause of strengthening peace and security in our world.

I should also like to make special mention of the work done by the President of the Security Council in October, the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée. Under his able guidance, the Council showed its determination to find ways to resolve the protracted conflict in former Yugoslavia.

For a long time now, the attention of the world community has been focused on events in former Yugoslavia, whose territory has become a hotbed of constant tension in Central Europe. The United Nations and the Security Council in particular have never been indifferent to the tragic course of the conflict, and today we express our gratitude to Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and also to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, for their ceaseless efforts to resolve the problem and to ease the suffering of the hundreds of thousands of people who have been forcibly sucked into the tragic maelstrom of the events taking place in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The end of the cold war, eliminating the division of the world into two opposing camps, has removed the threat of global military confrontations. Totalitarian empires have fallen, and the world community has been joined by

(Mr. Hassanov, Azerbaijan)

new independent States, the overwhelming majority of which are trying to resolve the problem of strengthening their national sovereignty and security in keeping with the principles of democracy and peaceful coexistence. At the same time, we must acknowledge with regret that the transformations that began in the territory of the former Soviet Union have not yet led in Eastern and Central Europe to the creation of a stable system of collective security in that vast region.

The leaders of certain countries have made aggressive nationalism and territorial expansionism the cornerstones of their policies towards their former fellow citizens. As a result, we have witnessed the rebirth of the horrendous practice of "ethnic cleansing" at a time when the victory of universal human values seemed so close.

For more than six months now, we have witnessed how the Serbian separatist forces supported by Belgrade have effectively dismembered the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is therefore important that the Security Council should give its assessment both of the actions of Belgrade - which has interfered in the internal affairs of a neighbouring sovereign State - and of the actions of the Serbian separatist armed units which are undermining from within the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a State.

(Mr. Hassanov, Azerbaijan)

It is very important for the international community, through the United Nations and the Security Council in particular, to demonstrate resolve and determination in the face of this situation, so that not only the Serbian leaders but all those who are planning and attempting to carry out the military expansion of their territories at the expense of others will understand that the world will not accept any alteration of borders through violence or force of arms. Only strict adherence to this principle can restore the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and put an end to the massive and forcible expulsion of innocent civilians from their homes.

The Republic of Azerbaijan is confident that one of the key elements of a comprehensive approach to the settlement of this conflict is the fundamental principle of territorial integrity. The Republic of Azerbaijan adds its voice to previous appeals to all parties to the conflict to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and does not intend to recognize any national territorial formations that might be proclaimed unilaterally, nor any mechanisms that might be imposed in violation of the territorial integrity of that State or of any other State. The Republic of Azerbaijan fully supports the call for an immediate end to any interference from outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including infiltration into that country by irregular armed units and forces.

In conclusion, our delegation appeals to the Security Council to take all necessary steps, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to achieve a complete cessation of hostilities in that region; full restoration of the State sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; a complete halt to the inhuman practice of "ethnic cleansing", which contravenes all norms of human conduct; and a condemnation of the acts

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of the Serbian separatists - citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina - seeking to dismember that State, on the understanding that the international community will never tolerate the policy of fait accompli regarding the de facto division of the country or any attempts forcibly to alter internationally recognized boundaries. The Council should also give comprehensive assistance to the refugees and displaced persons and help them to return to their homes.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Azerbaijan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are quite confident that your outstanding qualities will guarantee the success of our work. You represent Hungary, a friendly country that has the closest ties with my country, Kuwait. I should like also to pay tribute to your predecessor, our friend Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, for his wisdom and ability in conducting the work of the Council last month.

Although Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) were adopted a long time ago and the London Conference on the settlement of the question of the former Yugoslavia concluded its work more than seventy days ago, no significant progress has been made in implementing the Security Council resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina or the recommendations of the London Conference. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina still face a war of extermination at the hands of Serbian forces and the forces backed by

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Serbia and Montenegro. As a result, thousands of innocent people have been killed and great numbers have been displaced from their homeland and forced to abandon their properties.

The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Rapporteur of the Economic and Social Council have prepared a detailed report on the grave violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia. I quote from the report submitted to us in document S/24766, dated 6 November, 1992:

> "The military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is aimed at achieving 'ethnic cleansing', remains a matter of particular and most urgent concern. Consequently, and in accordance with resolution 1992/S-1/1 of the Commission on Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur has decided to prepare the present periodic report in order to draw the attention of the Commission on Human Rights, as well as the Security Council, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and all Governments and concerned international organizations, to the most compelling problems associated with the policy of ethnic cleansing". (S/24766, para 1)

The international community seems to believe that the "ethnic cleansing" now being pursued in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Serbian forces is not a result of the war but is rather one of its objectives. In actual fact, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina are threatened by extermination unless the international community takes specific measures to rescue them.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a State Member of the United Nations. The Security Council has adopted more than one resolution emphasizing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia and

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Herzegovina. In an attempt to limit the fighting, the Council has adopted a number of resolutions whose provisions include banning military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina, the placing of heavy artillery and weapons under international control, the release of all prisoners and detainees, the closing down of concentration camps and the halting of the policy of "ethnic cleansing". Regrettably, however, these resolutions have not been implemented. What we have seen is the violation of the ban on military flights, and the consequent prevention of the arrival of the vital humanitarian assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All this constitutes a flagrant violation of the principles and provisions of international law, the Fourth Geneva Convention, and the United Nations Charter.

The tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a matter of deep concern to us, as are the Belgrade Government's reneging on the commitments it made at the London Conference and the absence of a permanent follow-up mechanism to those commitments. We believe that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a civil war but rather a war of extermination perpetrated against the people of an independent State and a brazen occupation of its territories.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

We therefore call upon the Security Council to take all the necessary measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter to implement its resolutions which imposed a ban on military flights by the warplanes of Serbia and Montenegro in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina the latest of which was resolution 786 (1992), and to ensure the withdrawal of the Serbian regular and irregular troops from those territories.

We call upon the international community to provide all necessary material, military and moral support to enable the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to exercise its legitimate right of self-defence.

This requires that the embargo on weapons supplies to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be lifted especially in the absence of a collective defence.

Kuwait hopes that the meeting of the Council will lead to the adoption of a resolution that would lift this embargo on weapons supplies. We also believe that those who have committed serious breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention should be pursued and put on trial, in accordance with Security Council resolution 771 (1992) and other relevant resolutions.

We support the right of the people and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to ask Serbia and Montenegro for just compensations for damage and loss of life and property.

The tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina calls for emergency measures. Priority should be given to the protection of the right of man to life and to the protection of human beings. In view of the tragic nature of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is incumbent on the international

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community to increase humanitarian assistance and to give priority to opening up routes for humanitarian relief to all the beseiged parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

All these measures constitute immediate and urgent measures to halt the Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and to implement the Council's resolutions and the conclusions of the London Conference. The Security Council has had marked success in establishing a foundation for peace in various parts of the world, especially through shaping the concept of collective security, which imparts credibility to the Council, through the enforcement of its resolutions.

We hope that the Security Council's resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina will be implemented and complied with so that that people may enjoy its human right to life in its own homeland in peace and stability.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to my country and to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GHAFOORZAI (Afghanistan): At the outset, Sir, may I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November.

We wish you a successful presidency, especially when a very important matter, namely the grave situation in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is under consideration.

We also commend the outstanding leadership the Permanent Representative of France provided the Council during the month of October.

Having listened carefully to the presentations of the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Cyrus Vance and

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Lord David Owen, as well as the insightful remarks of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Mazowiecki, and the information provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, it is obvious that a clear line divides the oppressor from the oppressed. Bosnia has lost three quarters of its territory to the Serbian aggression, and its population is being systematically "cleansed" on the basis of their ethnicity. As is evident from Mr. Mazowiecki's report contained in document S/24766, widespread human rights violations are taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina concurrently with the negotiations and commitments taking place in Geneva. The report specifies:

> "As a result of those violations, a great number of people are suffering and have lost their lives. Thousands more find their lives threatened and their human dignity violated. Unless immediate action is taken, many of them will not survive the coming winter. As indicated in the first report, the Muslim population are the principal victims and are virtually threatened with extermination." (S/24766, para. 5)

While my delegation welcomes the heroic and exhausting work of the United Nations Protection Force, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the aforementioned individuals, we strongly believe that more and immediate action must be taken before it is too late for the people of Bosnia.

Afghanistan, having itself experienced a terrible war of aggression not too long ago, shares and understands the pain, frustration and suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We know how it feels when a foreign aggressor, equipped with modern weapons of death and destruction, invades one's territory and subjects an innocent nation to untold sufferings and

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inhuman atrocities. Our opposition to the aggression against national sovereignty, territorial integrity, fundamental human rights and the national unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not only on the basis of Islamic solidarity. To the Islamic State of Afghanistan it is a matter of principle to stand in defence of the oppressed against the oppressor and aggressor. It matters not whether the oppressed is a Muslim or non-Muslim nation. The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a clear case of conflict between justice and injustice, between right and wrong, and between respect for and disregard of fundamental human rights. That is why we consider it our moral duty to stand firm for the principles for which the Organization has fought for decades.

Certainly, the United Nations, through the Council, has made commendable contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and has indeed prevented thousands of innocent people from perishing in hotbeds of tension around the globe. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, however, the Organization has been the source of some disappointment for all those who believe in international justice and those who have placed their hope and trust in the Organization. This may be particularly true for those who question the validity and justifiability of the arms embargo against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which seriously hamper their just and inherent right to self-defence.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

Let us examine the rationale of such a claim. Security Council resolution 713 (1991) provides ample, sufficient and conclusive proof that the Council has not imposed an embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, resolution 713 (1991) dealt with the conflict between two parties, Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro, at a time when Bosnia and Herzegovina was not even an issue. Indeed, in no legal or technical sense does Security Council resolution 713 (1991) pertain to Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the resolution was adopted in September 1991, while the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina arose in April of 1992.

The nearest that Security Council resolution comes to being applicable to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is its operative paragraph 6, which states that the Security Council

> "Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Yugoslavia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia until the Security Council decides otherwise following consultations between the Secretary-General and the Government of Yugoslavia."

It may be clear from that text that the Security Council resolution imposed sanctions on what was called Yugoslavia in September 1991, when Serbia and Montenegro was at war with Croatia. One thing is obvious, and that is that in November of 1992 the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of 1991.

From the legal standpoint it seems senseless to contend that the sovereign State of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be subject to an arms embargo and sanctions because it was once part of the Socialist Federal Republic of

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Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, after democratically electing its Government in early 1992, declared its independence in February 1992 and was subsequently recognized by the international community as a sovereign State, being admitted to the United Nations upon recognition of the legitimacy of its Government. Acceptance of the notion that the sovereign State of Bosnia and Herzegovina is subject to political dictates that affect the former Yugoslavia may contradict our own announcement of recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign State.

It is even more painful to note that the embargo on arms shipments benefits the Serbian side, which has the active support of the former Yugoslav armed forces, while placing the Bosnian side at a great disadvantage. Moreover, the sanctions are not being decisively implemented. The Ambassador of the United States has cited some of the violations in the course of this debate.

In our view, every one of the principles set forth on the first page of the Charter of the Organization have been violated with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the result that 70 per cent of the territory of that small, sovereign and independent member of the world family is illegally occupied and held captive and hundreds of thousands of the country's innocent Muslims and Croats have been expelled from their homes and subjected to the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing", which has subjected the Muslim population of the country to untold suffering and threatens them with extermination.

We hear some express fears that the lifting of the arms embargo could further escalate the conflict. We would have preferred their suggesting an effective and action-oriented alternative to prevent the extermination and annihilation of a nation and the total destruction of a young Member of this Organization.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

We have entered into a new phase in world relations. We have denounced aggression and have taken a united stand in the face of its use against sovereign States. Europe long ago pledged its determination to safeguard and promote peace. The horrifying memories of the holocaust are still with us but, surprisingly, the world community has yet to take resolute action in the face of naked aggression against a sovereign State - at the least to remove the unjustifiable arms embargo, thus enabling this victimized nation to defend itself.

It is really unfortunate to see the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, which are the cornerstone of the Organization and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, constantly being violated by Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), which once, as one of the founders of the Movement, helped to install them as one of its basic elements. Serbia and Montenegro could revive the spirit of the former Yugoslavia by submitting to justice and to the call of the international community.

We believe that the draft resolution to be adopted after the present debate should do more than echo the previous resolutions adopted by the Council on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that it should set out an action-oriented policy aimed at ending the calamity in that country. The draft resolution should clearly and unequivocally warn the Serbian aggressors and their backers that the world will not sit still and that their crimes will not go unpunished.

What we need today is not more resolutions similar to those already adopted but, rather, a resolution for positive action, one that will not put the people of Bosnia to further strain and at greater disadvantage. My

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delegation, while supporting the idea of creating safe havens for the refugees within the territory of Bosnia and advocating a tougher no-fly zone for military aircraft over Bosnian airspace, also supports the efforts of the United Nations, its various agencies and the non-governmental organizations currently assisting the Bosnian people. However, we feel that there is more to be done to defend the Bosnians and to help them to defend themselves.

While we appreciate the peace-keeping efforts of the world body, we believe that, in view of the fact that the embargo has increased the imbalance to the advantage of the aggressors, a unilateral lifting of the embargo is necessary for the Bosnians to exercise their right to self-defence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Afghanistan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHOUINI (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): My delegation is particularly pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council. That a diplomat of your talent, representing a friendly country, Hungary, is guiding our deliberations today is of itself a guarantee of success as well as an assurance that this important United Nations body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security will do its utmost to respond to the hopes vested in it, not only by the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina but by the whole of the international community.

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

As we offer you our congratulations, my delegation wishes also to convey to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, our warm appreciation for the competent and stylish way in which he presided over the Council last month.

(spoke in Arabic)

My delegation has listened with great interest to the statements by the two Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, as well as to the statements by Mr. Mazoweicki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, and Mrs. Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. My delegation wishes to express its great appreciation for the work they are doing with such patience and dedication.

I also take this opportunity to pay tribute to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which is devotedly carrying out its functions under extremely difficult circumstances.

At the meeting of the African Regional Conference, on 2 November 1992, in Tunisia, in preparation for the Vienna International Conference scheduled for 1995, His Excellency Mr. Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the President of the Tunisian Republic, made an inaugural statement. He referred to the tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the following terms:

> "In view of our commitment to upholding human rights as an indivisible whole, irrespective of the creed, nationality, identity or culture of any individual, we express our profound consternation at the forced exodus, explusion and extermination to which the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being subjected in contempt of the most elementary of humanitarian values and principles. Our support for that people and the concern we share about their future stem from our deep-seated faith that

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respect for the will of peoples and the preservation of their cultural identity and their free choice is the healthy and appropriate foundation on which to create and maintain a sound human-rights environment in all the latitudes of the planet."

The report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights dated 6 November 1992 (S/24766) speaks of the extermination of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and evokes the same feelings of consternation and indignation.

The members of the Council have no doubt noted in that report certain facts reminscent of a bygore period of history. The report states that the wretched victims of the violations are beyond number, and that many have lost their lives.

"Thousands more find their lives threatened and their human dignity violated. Unless immediate action is taken, many of them will not survive the coming winter." (S/24766, para. 5)

The report goes on to state that the principal objective of the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the setting up of ethnically homogeneous regions. The "ethnic cleansing" does not appear to be the consequence of the war, but rather its goal, a goal that has in part been achieved.

The report also speaks of the appalling conditions in the camps, in which people who hoped to flee from "ethnic cleansing" have gathered. It states that Sarajevo, the capital, is a dying city. The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is desperate and has lost all hope of salvation. Cases have been reported of people dying of hunger and exhaustion in the streets. Furthermore, the population has lost all confidence in the effectiveness of international assistance.

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

Given this tragic situation, the report concludes that only an immediate cease-fire can save the population of Sarajevo and that of other besieged towns.

The report, then, underscores the word "extermination". And this is more than just a statement of fact. It is terrifying testimony to what can happen in today's world when, at the same time, the international community is loudly rejoicing in the advent of a new era of promotion of human rights, democracy and fundamental freedoms.

We are entitled to ask what these concepts and values can possibly mean to the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, when 100,000 people have been killed so far in the former Yugoslavia; when a million people are in flight, refugees without refuge; when 400,000 are threatened with death from hunger and cold this coming winter. And this, alas, seems likely to continue given the constantly worsening situation. This is a harsh reality, and full of challenges.

And who will be responsible for facing up to such challenges?

The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are committed body and soul to facing these challenges. They lack neither courage nor faith in the justice of their cause. It is the means of providing for their protection that are in short supply.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has attained the status of being subject to international law as it has acceded to the membership of the United Nations and has become committed to the Organization's Charter. Thus it is entitled to demand the protection conferred by international law. The statement made by the delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina last Friday before this Council

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

proved that the faith of its Government in the principles of the Organization is firm, but the report from which I have just quoted gives the impression that the Bosnian people are beginning to have some doubts about the value of the principles articulated in the United Nations Charter.

It is up to us, and today it is up to the Security Council in particular to dispel such disquieting doubts. It is the fate of a people which faces extermination that is now at stake. This is a very grave responsibility that the Security Council has to face up to by adopting resolutions that are commensurate with the gravity and urgency of the situation in accordance with the universal principles that guide its actions.

It is incumbent upon the Council immediately to put a halt to the hostilities and to ensure respect for the cease-fire on the part of those parties that wish to gain time in order to impose their own designs once and for all.

(Mr. Khouini, Tunisia)

Proceeding from this, it is essential, as stated by the Chairman of the Arab Group before the Council, to: restore the unity and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the status quo ante; put an end to the reprehensible practice of "ethnic cleansing", which, we thought, had become a thing of the past; enable all the displaced and deported persons to return to their homes; implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and in particular Security Council resolutions 771 (1992) and 781 (1992), in a context of respect for international legality; see to it that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) secures effective control over all heavy weapons; and to ensure that all paramilitary forces withdraw from Sarajevo and that the other demilitarized towns are placed under the protection of the United Nations.

What is at stake in actual fact, is the restoring of international peace and security through their imposition on the ground, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to the Security Council by the Charter of the United Nations. What we need to do here is to send a firm and solemn message from this Council, a message that will say: "Enough is enough!", a message that will once again recall to all of us the pertinent provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter and in particular those of Article 42 and of Article 51 relating to the inherent right of self-defence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Tunisia for the kind words he addressed to me.

In accordance with the decision taken at the 3135th meeting of the Security Council, I invite His Excellency Mr. Ilija Djukić, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Foreign Minister DJUKIC: As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I have been entrusted by my Government with the task of addressing today's Security Council meeting.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is fully committed to bringing about, and is making every effort and using all its influence to bring about, the end of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has fully accepted all the decisions and principles of the London Conference and considers that their consistent implementation is the only way to stop this senseless and bloody war.

In that context, we should like to point out in particular the importance of abiding by the following principles, which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has fully and consistently complied with: the reaching of a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis by peaceful means with the assistance of the United Nations, the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); with respect to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the search for a peaceful solution on the basis of full agreement between its three constituent peoples - Muslims, Serbs and Croats; the inviolability of the existing borders between former Republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the exception of the changes brought about by peaceful arrangements; the observance of internationally recognized human-rights and fundamental-freedoms standards; the condemnation and cessation of the practice of "ethnic cleansing" by whoever it is committed and wherever it occurs; the provision and unhampered urgent delivery of humanitarian assistance; and, last but certainly not least, compliance with all relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

Our basic and primary goal is to achieve lasting peace. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia offers its good offices in order to bring an end to the

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

war and bloodshed in this former Yugoslav Republic. In this respect, we have already taken the following steps:

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is strongly and persistently pursuing efforts aimed at helping end the military operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has invested great efforts in, and made a considerable contribution to, lifting the siege of Sarajevo under the supervision of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). It supported the decision that a mixed military working group be in permanent session. It fully supported the statement of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia of 13 October 1992.

During the recent talks between President Cosić and Prime Minister Panić with the Co-Chairmen, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia strongly supported the grounding of all military planes and other aircraft of the Serbian side in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Banja Luka airfield, also under UNPROFOR supervision.

To dispel any allegations of its involvement in any military operations in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has insisted since last July that United Nations monitors be placed at all airfields of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and along the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Regrettably, this has not yet been accepted.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has exerted all its influence to bring about an agreement between the Bosnian Serbs and UNPROFOR on deploying United Nations observers at 11 locations around Sarajevo in order to place the heavy artillery of the Bosnian Serbs under UNPROFOR supervision.

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

The last member of the Yugoslav Army was withdrawn in May 1992. This has been confirmed in the Secretary-General's report and by the European Community.

The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Federal Government have issued orders with the effect of fully preventing the creation of paramilitary forces and their movement from the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Within his action for peace, Prime Minister Panic visited Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo) twice; he made public appeals for an end to the conflict and explicitly stated that he is opposed to any change of borders by force.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims against Bosnia and Herzegovina. That was clearly stated in the Declaration of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly of 27 April 1992 and in the joint statement of 19 October 1992 by Presidents Cosic and Izetbegovic reaffirming their commitments on the inviolability of the existing borders, except for changes reached by peaceful agreement. Moreover, they reaffirmed that a comprehensive political solution in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be found between the three constituent peoples within the International Conference at Geneva.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has strongly condemned the concept and practice of "ethnic cleansing", committed by any side, as a crime against humanity. Throughout the Yugoslav crisis and the ensuing war, "ethnic cleansing" perpetrated against one side has invariably triggered "ethnic cleansing" against the other. We are opposed to each and every act of "ethnic cleansing" by any side.

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

We have been witness to horrible crimes committed by all warring parties. There is plenty of evidence of flagrant violations of human rights and breaches of humanitarian law.

I take this opportunity to point out only some of the drastic examples of the crimes committed against Serbs, because they have largely been ignored. Particularly appalling are the well-known massacres of Serbs on the Mount Kupres Plateau in the village of Milici, Bratunac. Brutal "ethnic cleansing" was carried out in the Neretva Valley and in western Herzegovina, which is now virtually "cleansed" of Serbs. The very same has occurred on the territory of the Republic of Croatia controlled by the Government in Zagreb. As for Bosnia, there are distressing examples of the inhuman conditions of civilians, mostly of Serb origin, in detention camps in the Bradina tunnel, Tomislavgrad, Sarajevo, Konjic and Mostar. Historical monuments representing the landmarks of Serbian civilization there have been razed to the ground throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We should like to extend our full support to the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992). The relevant report of the Government of Yugoslavia has already been submitted to the Secretary-General on the violation of humanitarian law in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

By distorting and ignoring the facts, a false picture has, unfortunately, been projected to the international public, which does not help the resolution of the conflict. Those who call for the condemnation of only one side assume an enormous responsibility. What we need, instead, is the unequivocal support of all three parties to the conflict for the efforts made by the Co-Chairmen and by all the participants in the Geneva Conference to find a lasting and just solution acceptable to all.

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

Yugoslavia is making great efforts to alleviate the suffering of the innocent population affected by war, irrespective of their national, religious or other origin. Even under a total and unjust blockade imposed on us, it is doing its utmost to ensure the necessary conditions for a large number of refugees and displaced persons. More than half a million refugees, mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 40,000 of them Muslims, have found refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We continuously deliver humanitarian relief, consisting of foodstuffs and medical supplies, to the entire population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have opened humanitarian corridors from Belgrade to Sarajevo, and other corridors are also being used.

We consider, however, that all that has been accomplished thus far cannot lead to an early achievement of the desired goal of establishing peace in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina if account is not taken of some basic facts.

The heart of the matter is that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an ethnic, religious and civil war. Three sides within Bosnia and Herzegovina are taking part in it. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be responsible for either its outbreak or its continuation. The aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina can only be the Republic of Croatia. Its regular and well-armed forces, numbering between 40,000 and 60,000 troops, are at present fighting in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is therefore imperative that all of us condemn such behaviour, which is a breach of the fundamental norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Great responsibility for the ongoing bloodshed has been borne, no doubt, by the leaders who were determined to create a national State at any cost. Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of the Party of Democratic Action, has done all he could to create a unitary State dominated by the Muslims, who represent

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41 per cent of the population. As early as 1990, when he had already become President of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he made this goal public once again by publishing his book The Islamic Declaration in Sarajevo. Let me quote only one paragraph from it:

> "First and foremost of these conclusions is certainly the incompatibility of Islam with non-Islamic systems. There can be neither peace nor coexistence between the Islamic religion and non-Islamic social and political institutions."

In view of the content and the practice envisaged in the Declaration, his statements that Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a unitary State, would be a democratic, civic State fully guaranteeing human rights to the non-Muslim, that is, Christian, population constituting the majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina are simply untenable.

That was the reason why, in their plebiscite, the Serb people of Bosnia and Herzegovina overwhelmingly opted against forceful secession from Yugoslavia. The immediate cause for this decision was a drastic and flagrant violation of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina by a part of its leadership that did not include representatives of the Serbs, as required by the current Constitution. It is ironic that the very same Constitution was adopted immediately after Mr. Izetbegovic became Head of State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was directing its affairs.

Had due account been taken of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina now still in force, which provides that no decision of vital importance to Bosnia and Herzegovina may be taken without the consent of all three peoples - Serbs accounting for about 32 per cent of the population, Muslims about 41 per cent and Croats about 17 or 18 per cent - we would not have such a bloody war in Europe today. The only goal that Mr. Izetbegovic publicly

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

subscribes to is military victory, with overt calls for the international community to intervene militarily on the side of the Muslims. The international community has been given plenty of opportunities to see for itself.

The premature recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the European Community, which has been publicly admitted by many, including Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance, only deepened the crisis and war and dramatically increased the suffering of the people and the number of victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The present phase of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been further aggravated by the foreign mercenaries from a number of Islamic countries. Their engagement may have unforeseeable consequences for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans as a whole. Let me remind the Council of the talks between President Cosic and President Izetbegovic on 19 October 1992 at Geneva, where Mr. Izetbegovic committed himself to eliminating all paramilitary groups, criminals and mercenaries, no matter where they came from.

However, the most important question now is how to get out of this nightmare. My Government firmly believes that a peaceful settlement is the only true solution to the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are convinced that through concerted efforts by all of us, as we have stated on many occasions, the three parties to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina should reach a mutually acceptable solution within the framework of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. My Government stands ready to honour and support fully any such solution.

We are, at the same time, increasingly alarmed at the repeated requests for international military intervention. It is only too obvious that Bosnia and Herzegovina is replete with arms. Those who advocate additional arms

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

supplies for any side in Bosnia and Herzegovina are pouring oil on the flames. We cannot but warn, with profound concern, of the unforeseeable harmful effects of the continued sending of mercenaries, violations of the arms embargo and the ever more evident prospects of this conflict turning into a full-scale religious war.

As for my Government, it has already transmitted to the Secretary-General and the Security Council the memorandum on violations of the arms embargo imposed under Security Council resolution 713 (1991).

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

The Government of Yugoslavia has fully complied with the commitments made at the London Conference, and has withdrawn its army from the territory around Dubrovnik and from and around the Prevlaka peninsula. Immediately after the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army the Croatian army launched large-scale operations against Serbs in Herzegovina, particularly around Trebinje. The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister, in their recent letters to the Secretary-General, have warned of the serious consequences of these operations for the maintenance of peace and security in the region. Alongside these breaches of the agreement, Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic proceeded to activate their military alliance directed against the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They even went so far as to inform the United Nations Security Council of this on 2 November this year.

This is a moment when decisions are to be taken that have a bearing on peace, and not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All peoples of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have suffered enough in this war. What is now needed is both efficiency and wisdom, as well as resolve and responsibility.

We must not allow ourselves to be guided by one-sided attitudes and emotions. We must think twice before passing judgement and be peacemakers.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been subjected to harsh sanctions, which we deeply believe to be one-sided and unjust. Sanctions have never been known to solve problems. They can hardly stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sanctions are hitting the most vulnerable strata of the population. In such circumstances, about half a million refugees accepted in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have also been punished, including 300,000 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Foreign Minister Djukić)

By lifting sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the United Nations would prove that justice and humanity can prevail. That would also serve to encourage the efforts of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia towards historical and democratic changes.

In concluding my statement, I would like to stress once again the readiness of my Government to do its utmost to help bring about peace to our region, because it is in our vital interest too. We are profoundly convinced that the military option is not the solution. But we clearly cannot re-establish peace singlehandedly. We therefore rely on the United Nations, and we have no doubt that the Security Council has not only the power, but also the wisdom, the obligation and the political sense to find the right solutions on the basis of truth and justice. Also, there is no doubt that the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on the Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, have a major role to play, which we certainly support and will continue to support.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Allow me first, Sir, to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to wish you every success. We would also like to say how appreciative the Council was of the presidency of Ambassador Mérimée, whose level-headedness, firmness, courtesy and wisdom won the admiration of all.

We are near the end of a long and difficult debate, in which we have listened with a great deal of emotion and sadness to representatives of States Members of the United Nations and high officials of our Organization. Representatives have deplored the same crimes, cruelty and behaviour. They have all condemned the violations of human rights, the torture and the human

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

tragedy experienced by millions of people - already more than 2 million - who are on the roads without food and without transport. We were disturbed by what Mrs. Ogata said about them on Friday, when she spoke with great restraint about the thousands of problems experienced daily by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in carrying out its mission. Its staff and trucks have also become a target of the Serbs, because they are carrying aid to processions of thousands of displaced persons. High officials have confirmed that massacres of Muslims have taken place and are continuing. We were even told that at this rate the Muslims are threatened with extermination. Deportations are still in full swing and arms are pouring in - more so than ever.

Some 20 resolutions have been adopted to date. They should in principle have prevented any further excesses, but to our very unpleasant surprise they have almost remained a dead letter. A daily challenge is thus posed to our values, principles and decisions.

In this hell of fire, blood and horror, humanitarian organizations are continuing tirelessly to carry out their noble task, putting at risk the lives of men and women who are transporting and distributing aid and convoying refugees and the wounded. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and certain private organizations deserve our admiration for the spirit of self-sacrifice with which they are carrying out their missions. Regrettably, this remarkable work will be made more difficult with the winter that is already setting in. We had hoped that the London Conference would put an end to the tragedy suffered by the people of Bosnia. Unfortunately, we have so far received only

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

confirmation of the obstinacy of the other party, which is gaining time and is still adding to the list of dead and other victims.

Successive speakers have confirmed our apprehensions, underlining the fact that "ethnic cleansing" is continuing its crimes, that some concentration camps are still in operation, that there have been countless violations of human rights and that the increasingly serious problem of refugees requires an urgent solution. They must be protected in the places to which they are brought, or, rather, where they are condemned to be concentrated.

It is no accident that everyone has spoken of the right to self-defence; the most delicate and sensitive aspect of the whole discussion is the right of the Bosnians to defend themselves.

The tragedy visited upon the village of Satche, the most recent such occurrence, has given us an even clearer idea - if that were needed - of the extent of the savagery and obstinacy of a country coldly carrying out a plan. That village fell because the powerless Croatian forces withdrew their assistance, because no one defended it and because, no matter what is said, no one was able to provide it with weapons and ammunition to defend its children, old people and women. Yet another village came under the yoke of Serbia, increasing the areas it controls. Sixty per cent of Bosnian territory is now in Serbian hands.

In current circumstances the idea of safe areas is simply a stopgap temporary measure. Like many others, my Government, as a last resort, supported this course, without regarding it as an end in itself. We have clearly realized the danger, which has been described to us, of facilitating more "ethnic cleansing" as now practised. If the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference insisted on this point, it was to attend to the most

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

urgent matters first and to some extent meet the concerns of the UNHCR and the ICRC. Clearly, we would like to have seen these hundreds of thousands of people protected against the inhuman hordes invading their homes and land.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

Of course, we would have liked the international community to have had some means of thwarting and deterring them. Some have said already that we have known how to stop other invaders, so why not these?

The latest draft resolution before us today establishes new principles which ought to act as warnings and safeguards. If it prevents new entities being created at the expense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it should in principle deter this headlong breakout of the Serbs and their frenzied desire to massacre Muslims so as to build on the ruins of their villages. If it makes a clear reference to Belgrade's forces, it is to ensure that responsibilities are once and for all fully shouldered and established. The draft resolution shows - if such were necessary - that the Council is fully aware of the violations of all resolutions and embargoes. It will, in any case, have sought by every means to put an effective brake on them.

The members of the Islamic Conference, of which we are one, wished to alert the international community, and its head, the Security Council, once again. They have underlined the confidence they are continuing to place in these bodies to resolve the serious problems being experienced by the Muslim community in one of its members.

Is it not terrifying to see all these genocides, slaughters and concentration camps justified, a posteriori, by so-called Muslim ideologies and parties that have never seen the light of day? The time has come to say that it is vital for these would-be dictators to be deterred at all costs. It is also urgent for those who have been calling on us for help for more than a year to be protected.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

The cry of despair of the Islamic community is sincere, and its message is clear. There are other Bosnia and Herzegovina situations appearing on the horizon. We must be on our guard if we want to continue to give cause for hope and to show that we are still capable of resolving problems and not letting things go beyond the point of no return.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukraine): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your exemplary performance of your high responsibilities as President of the Security Council during the month of November, and express my conviction that, under your able leadership, the Security Council will be successful in dealing with the issues before it. Our delegation is grateful to you for providing us with this opportunity to take part in the Council's discussion of one of the most urgent and acute problems among those of which the Security Council is seized.

The delegation of Ukraine finds that the deliberations have been very much assisted and lent substance by the extremely informative introductory statements made before the Council last Friday by Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and by those of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, and Mrs. Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

In addressing the present situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, the delegation of Ukraine expresses

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

once more its profound anxiety and concern about the ongoing military conflic in the area.

We appreciate the efforts of the international community aimed at extinguishing the fires of war, the cessation of the bloodshed and at a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia. The steps taken in this connection within the framework of the recent London Conference and during its Geneva stage are especially noteworthy. Undoubtedly, the decisions by the United Nations and its Security Council are continuing to play a key role in all these endeavours.

Ukraine fully supports all these decisions and is doing its utmost to ensure their implementation. From various quarters, we have often been asked the same question: what is to be done in order to untie the Yugoslav knot of violence and the suffering it causes? It seems that all the answers have already been found: they are contained in the appropriate resolutions and actions of the Security Council and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. If the long-awaited peace and concord do not reappear in this part of Europe, it will be only because the measures provided for by the Security Council and the relevant agreements between the parties involved in their implementation - as in the case of turning over all heavy weapons to the effective control of the United Nations Protection Force - are not carried out by a party to the conflict.

The fulfilment of the provisions of the Security Council resolutions is of paramount importance to the success of the United Nations efforts in the former Yugoslavia. Compliance with those provisions by all sides should be encouraged by setting definite deadlines for their implementation.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

Territorial gains resulting from military aggression or from "ethnic cleansing" are completely unacceptable in today's Europe guided by the United Nations Charter and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Ukrainian delegation is convinced that a peaceful and just resolution of this conflict will be conditional upon strict observance of the United Nations Charter, the provisions of international law and the guiding principles of the CSCE. First and foremost, this implies safeguarding the territorial integrity of States and ensuring the inviolability of borders, the settlement of disputes by peaceful, political means and respect for human rights and the rights of minorities.

The latter needs special emphasis. Ukraine, like all other States, is alarmed by the situation in this regard. The horrible practice of "ethnic cleansing" is inadmissible. We have learned, with revulsion and anxiety, of acts of violence and arbitrariness, including against the Ukrainian national minority in Yugoslavia, and of brutal violations of basic human rights and freedoms.

The Ukrainian delegation condemns all these atrocities and strongly favours the urgent rectification of the existing situation. We expect the Security Council to take all the steps needed to ensure the proper protection of the national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Until peace and civil order are restored in the area, the efforts of the international community in providing humanitarian assistance will be of extreme importance. The unhindered and uninterrupted flow of humanitarian assistance will be especially necessary during the forthcoming winter cold, which will aggravate many times over the hardships of the people who are the involuntary victims of this conflict.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

Ukraine is making its contribution to the concerted action by the international community. Its battalion is trying to help solve the humanitarian problems by participating in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the Sarajevo sector. The decision of the Parliament of Ukraine to dispatch to Bosnia and Herzegovina a volunteer contingent of its armed forces at the request of the Security Council was dictated by a sincere desire to assist in the quickest possible resolution of the conflict, which has claimed the lives of scores of thousands of the people of this once-peaceful land.

Under extreme conditions, the UNPROFOR units are doing everything possible to guarantee the security of Sarajevo airport in order to enable aircraft carrying humanitarian assistance to be unloaded and the assistance to be safely distributed.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

While performing this humanitarian mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina the soldiers in blue helmets sometimes have to pay too high a price. The representative of France, Ambassador Mérimée, reminded us that nine French servicemen perished in the former Yugoslavia in this action. Three servicemen from the smaller Ukrainian forces in Sarajevo were also killed, and 15 persons were wounded. Other UNPROFOR battalions also suffered losses. We believe that the Security Council will use all its authority to prevent the recurrence of hostile acts against the United Nations peace-keepers, whose fate in Sarajevo sometimes resembles that of hostages.

The latest developments in the political life of the former Yugoslavia testify to the fact that those who try to frustrate the peaceful settlement of the conflict in this region have not abandoned their designs. The Council's decision must therefore be strong in order to be effective. It should envisage all the necessary steps to strengthen the effectiveness of the arms embargo and other sanctions imposed by the Council.

In this connection, the Ukrainian delegation considers that the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council will serve the purpose of having a tangible political impact on the war-minded circles involved in the bloody Bosnian conflict. If those concerned treat the draft resolution properly, it might mean the immediate cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the full implementation of the Council's previous resolutions on this matter. Curtailing the period involved in executing Council resolutions and agreements sponsored by the parties involved in the conflict would result in shortening the sufferings of the peoples in the former Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

In conclusion, I express our hope that common sense will prevail this time and that within a limited time-frame, through concerted actions, peace will be restored in Bosnia and Herzegovina so that the extreme measures available to the Security Council under the Charter will not be resorted to.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Ukraine for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on behalf of the United Arab Emirates on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are completely convinced that your competence in international affairs will contribute to the strengthening of the work of the Council so that it may achieve positive results.

May I express my appreciation to your predecessor, His Excellency the Ambassador of France, for his efforts in guiding the work of the Security Council last month. May I also express sincere thanks to Mr. Cyrus Vance, Lord David Owen, the Special Rapporteur Mr. Mazowiecki and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, for their statements which reflect the reality of the tragic situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council meets to consider one of the questions of which it has been siezed for a long time now, namely the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All preceding speakers have been unanimous in stressing the gravity of the situation in that republic and in highlighting its political,

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

economic, social and human consequences which arise from the occupation and the acts perpetrated by the armed forces of Serbia and Montenegro against the people and the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Over the past few months, the world was severely shocked by the atrociousness of the measures and abominable practices which have resulted in horrendous human and material losses. Thousands of innocent civilians of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including women, children and the elderly, have been killed because of their ethnic identity or religious affiliation. In addition, there has been massive arbitrary destruction of historic, religious and archaeological sites regardless of the enormous international efforts made and the role of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Events over the past few decades have demonstrated that the use of force and aggression for political gain are doomed to failure. The Articles of the Charter prohibit the use of force and mandate the Security Council to deter aggression and prevent the aggressor from profiting from its acts of aggression. It is therefore up to the Security Council fully to assume its responsibility for the maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is a Member State of the United Nations. The Council must oppose the plan of genocide and extermination that the Serbian forces are trying to carry out through their continued aggression.

Events have shown that the resolutions and the measures that have been adopted were not sufficient to deter the aggressor from occupying further territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina or from perpetrating further massacres and acts of expulsion from their territory against the population. The Security

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

Council must assume this basic responsibility if it is to maintain its credibility. Otherwise, smaller and weaker States will be haunted by doubts. They will wonder what guarantees are there that further aggression will be deterred in future.

Today's world, which, we had hoped, was going to be a world of peace and stability after the end of the cold war, is far from being a world of peace, justice and security because of the emergence of new forms of conflict and aggression, interference in the internal affairs of other States, and State policies characterized by hegemonistic designs, ethnic conflicts and new forms of racism and nationalistic fervour. The tragic situation facing the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a sad and painful example of this new situation.

My country has condemned these abominable crimes and has adhered to the resolutions of the Security Council. It has provided to the people of Bosnia all possible material and moral assistance. The President of the Republic of Bosnia last month visited my country and was welcomed by His Highness the President of State. In this way, we expressed our position and our faith in the justice of their cause. My country has established a number of aid centres and our Red Crescent has played a basic role in providing humanitarian assistance in support of the Bosnian people.

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

While the international community has condemned Serbian aggression and the abominable practice of "ethnic cleansing" and has called for an immediate end to all breaches of the principles of international law, the suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina goes on and is even worsening; arrests continue; binding resolutions adopted by the Security Council are not yet fully implemented; thousands of refugees are driven out of their homes and face an uncertain future; and famine and disease threaten those who live in the ruins of cities which, as is evidenced by archaeological monuments, used to be prosperous and civilized.

As winter approaches, the need to ensure safety and shelter for the population becomes more urgent than ever. A special mission from my country visited a number of regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and saw at first hand the suffering of the Bosnian people and the inhuman treatment to which they are daily subjected through acts that run counter to the very fundamental rules of international conduct.

The Secretary-General's report on the human-rights situation in the former Yugoslavia - document S/24766, dated 6 November 1992 - and the information and evidence provided by regional and international organizations further confirm the perpetration of atrocities by the Serbs. My delegation welcomes the Security Council resolution aimed at establishing a group of experts to consider and report on human-rights violations in Bosnia. In this context, the people who are responsible for these crimes must be brought to justice.

It is also important that the concentration camps be dismantled and that safety zones be created in order to ensure that those who have been deported and those who are without shelter can return to their homes.

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

The Security Council has adopted many resolutions aimed at putting an end to Serbian aggression and at protecting the independence and maintaining the territorial integrity of the Bosnian State. All the reports show that these resolutions have not been fully implemented and that they have not been sufficient to deter aggression by Serbia and Montenegro. We therefore believe that it is necessary to take measures under Chapter VII of the Charter - in particular, under articles 41 and 42 - to put an end to this aggression.

We ask in particular that safety zones under the protection of United Nations forces be established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations forces should be mandated to take all necessary measures to prevent the Serbs from violating the no-fly restrictions.

The Security Council embargo was aimed at the aggressor - in other words, Serbia and Montenegro. That State is the aggressor and continues to be the aggressor to this very day. It refuses to implement the resolutions that have been adopted in this context. Therefore, we are surprised that the State which is the victim of aggression - Bosnia - is being treated in the same way as the aggressor State.

From the standpoint of justice and equality, a policy that would prevent Bosnia from obtaining military assistance to enable it to exercise its legitimate right to self-defence is untenable. It is up to us all, including the Security Council, to ensure that assistance of all types - military or material - is provided to Bosnia so that it can defend itself against aggression.

The solutions that we advocate are in accordance with international law and the United Nations Charter and are in keeping with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. We reject the notion of aggression and the acquisition of territory by force. Therefore we support the statement of the

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

Secretary-General contained in the report that is before the Council, and we attach special importance to the constitutional arrangements stemming from the International Conference on Yugoslavia, on the basis of the rejection of partition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of respect for its territorial integrity.

I should like, in conclusion, to assure the Council that, on the basis of our faith in the role of the United Nations - a faith that stems from our confidence in our own policy, which is based on the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and through dialogue, with due respect for the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles governing international law - we believe that the maintenance of international peace and security and stability is a collective responsibility and that the Security Council plays a principal role in this respect, particularly with regard to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece): It gives me pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, the Permanent Representative of Hungary, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that under your wise and experienced guidance the Council will successfully carry out its responsibilities. The same words of appreciation are extended to Ambassador Mérimée of France for the valuable work he accomplished during October.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

I should also like to join other representatives in thanking the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sedako Ogata, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Mazowiecki, Secretary Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, for setting the appropriate framework for our debate.

I want to express my Government's gratitude and full support for the excellent and skilful way in which Secretary Vance and Lord Owen carry out their delicate, difficult and principled task. Greece will spare no effort in supporting and assisting them in their endeavours.

It is now time for the international community to stand firm and put an end to violence, bloodshed, the indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians, including children, elderly people and women, the shelling of hospitals, the existence of detention camps, the forced expulsions aimed at the establishment of ethnically homogeneous areas, and the destruction of houses, mosques and churches. The suffering, agony and despair of all the peoples in the former Yugoslavia is immeasurable.

There is no alternative to peace. Greece unequivocally condemns the practices of "ethnic cleansing", wherever they occur, the serious breaches of humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions, the forced exodus of refugees, the alteration of demographic composition, the seizure of territory by force and the use of force against the territorial integrity of any State, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. This principled position stems from our opposition to the use of force in settling disputes, from the rejection of faits accomplis and from our long-standing policy of seeking negotiated solutions of disputes on the basis of international law. We fully support the strong call contained

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

in the draft resolution to be adopted today that the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina be respected. We also fully support the affirmation that any entities unilaterally declared in contravention of relevant Security Council resolutions will not be accepted.

The Balkans have a long and bitter history of conflicts. The international community must act swiftly to stop the war before it is too late, for the dangers of spill-over are real. Neighbouring countries have a primary responsibility to avert an escalation of the conflict.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

Greece strongly and solemnly appeals to all its Balkan neighbours to display restraint and work collectively so that our region may become a zone of peace in Europe. We also endorse and support the demand included in the draft resolution that all forms of external interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina cease immediately.

The Greek Govemment believes that the efforts of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to achieve a negotiated solution to all aspects of the crisis should be intensified. It also firmly believes that the principles to which all Yugoslav parties have been committed, and which have been endorsed by all participants in the London Conference, including the principle of non-recognition of the alteration of borders by force and of faits accomplis, must constitute the cornerstone to the solution.

The situation prevailing in Kosovo gives rise to serious concern. There is a great danger that, if the conflict should also spread to this part of the former Yugoslavia, it will be very difficult to contain it and to avoid a spill-over to other areas of the former Yugoslavia as well as to neighbouring countries. Greece supports the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva follow-up of the London Conference in their efforts to achieve through dialogue a solution to the problems of this area. The principles contained in the statement endorsed by the London Conference, including the rejection of the alteration of borders by force, apply in this case too.

Regarding our neighbour, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, let me recall that Greece and its European Community partners have considered its borders as inviolable and guaranteed. The Declaration on the former Yugoslavia which was adopted by the European Community and its member States at the European summit meeting held in Lisbon on 26 and 27 June 1992, was

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circulated as Security Council document S/24200 of 29 June 1992, at the request of Belgium, France and the United Kingdom. In this Declaration:

"The European Council reiterates the position taken by the Community and its member States in Guimaraes on the request of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to be recognized as an independent State. It expresses its readiness to recognize that republic within its existing borders according to their Declaration on 16 December 1991 under a name which does not include the term Macedonia. It furthermore considers the borders of this republic as inviolable and guaranteed in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of Paris." (S/24200, p. 3)

Greece, guided by the sincere will to live together in peace with others as good neighbours, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, as well as by its earnest desire for the maintenance of peace, security and stability in our region, has recently proposed that all countries contiguous to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - that is, Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria - guarantee the inviolability of that Republic's frontiers.

Furthermore, in an official statement issued at Athens on 10 November 1992, we reconfirmed that:

"Guided by the principles of good neigbourliness and the desire for ensuring peace and stability in our region, as well as the territorial integrity of this former Yugoslav Republic, Greece considers its borders to the latter as inviolable and guaranteed, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Charter of Paris."

This initiative was welcomed by the Governments of Albania, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. For its part, the Greek Government stands ready to extend formal recognition to Skopje and to help support and

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

assist that neighbouring Republic, provided that it abides by the Lisbon declaration and the declaration on Yugoslavia adopted by the European Community in Brussels on 16 December 1991.

Let me now come to the cases which the Permanent Representative of the United States deemed it necessary to mention during his statement last Friday regarding the alleged involvement of Greek shipping companies in violating the oil embargo - allegations made without taking the normal channel of the Sanctions Committee referred to in Security Council resolution 757 (1992).

First, as regards the Maltese-flagged Thita Triton, an investigation by the competent Greek authorities has so far resulted in establishing the following facts. The said vessel sailed into the port of Piraeus, Greece, from England on 8 July 1992. It sailed from Piraeus in ballast - that is, empty - on 18 October 1992, for Aghioi Theodoroi near Corinth, where it was loaded as follows: on 20 October, with 25 million litres of diesel in bulk, as well as with 99 million litres of diesel in barrels; on 20 October - the same day - with 19 million litres of gasoline originating from Romania; on 2 November, with 20 million litres of fuel oil; on 2 November - the same day - with 4.5 million litres of gas oil; and again on 2 November, with 14 million litres of gas oil (transshipment) originating from Russia. From the relevant shipping documents, it appears that the declared destination of the said cargoes was Austria via Trieste. If, instead of its declared destination the said vessel sailed into the port of Bar, the responsibility rests, according to the internationally accepted norms, with the country of the flag.

Secondly, as regards the tanker Thita Volcano, an investigation by the competent Greek authorities has so far established the following facts. The vessel sailed from Augusta, Sicily, on 10 October 1992, loaded with 1,596 metric tons of soda caustic and destined for Ploce/Bar, Yugoslavia. According

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

to the relevant shipping documents, the suppliers are Metmar Trading and Shipping Ltd. and the receivers are D.P.Birac, a company in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the cargo was to be transported in transit from Bar.

It appears from all this that the glare of publicity reserved for these cases was, to say the least, unwarranted and that any criticism against Greece prior to any inquiry through the Sanctions Committee is unacceptable. Allow me to recall that the Sanctions Committee has repeatedly commended the Greek authorities for their vigilance, alertness and prompt responses in investigating alleged violations. Furthermore, I wish to remind the Council that on 21 August 1992, Greece unilaterally suspended all exports of oil products through the northern borders of the country, in spite of the heavy toll it had already paid because of its full compliance with the sanctions. Nevertheless, let everyone be assured that my authorities are still thoroughly investigating these cases and that prompt legal action will be taken against any individual or company should it be proved that it bears responsibility in violating the sanctions.

In concluding, I wish to reiterate in the most emphatic way my Government's commitment to the strict implementation of the sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and its full adherence to the relevant Security Council resolutions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Greece for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Malta. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CAMILLERI (Malta): My delegation welcomes this opportunity to address the Security Council on the tragic events in the region of the former

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

Yugoslavia, and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under your able presidency, Sir, we have every confidence that the Council will find the necessary courage and wisdom to accomplish the heavy duties which lie before it.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

On this occasion my delegation wishes also to recall the impressive manner in which the Council's work was managed under your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France.

The statements already made in this debate underline the determination of the international community to persevere in its efforts to bring sanity and legality back to the tragically troubled region of former Yugoslavia. The Government of Malta is fully committed to making its fullest contribution to that endeavour.

The Council has heard from the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and from other speakers of the diplomatic efforts that have been and continue to be undertaken in the search for a peaceful solution. We share the sentiment expressed by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom that the situation would be much worse today were it not for the United Nations peace-keeping efforts through the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the United Nations humanitarian effort led by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international efforts, in particular those of the European Community. In this time of trial we salute all those who, at great personal risk, are in the forefront of international action to bring relief to the suffering people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We have also taken note of the cautious optimism of Mr. Vance and others about the cease-fire declared recently, on 10 November, under the auspices of UNPROFOR, by the military commanders of the three warring parties in Sarajevo.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

We have also heard, however, the disturbing reports of Mrs. Ogata and Mr. Mazowiecki. Mrs. Ogata tells us that rarely have the violations of human rights and humanitarian law, the violence and the destruction reached the levels we are currently witnessing in former Yugoslavia. Mr. Mazowiecki stresses that the violation of the right to life and other fundamental human rights is massive and grave and that it stems from the practice of "ethnic cleansing", which is essentially not a consequence but an objective of this war.

Not only are we reminded that suffering and the flouting of humanitarian law are still occurring in Bosnia and Herzegovina: we are also warned of the possibility of an enlargement of the conflict. Mr. Vance speaks of the highly charged situation in Kosovo and the festering situation in Macedonia, and of the frightening prospects of neighbouring countries becoming engulfed in the conflict.

This is therefore a time that tests to the limit the recently generated international resolve for collective action in the defence and promotion of the essential principles of the United Nations Charter. That resolve must find expression primarily in the international community's unswerving determination to exercise all options open to it under the United Nations Charter, with the objective of bringing the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina to a halt as the first step towards reaching a peaceful settlement. That determination must continue to be backed by a clear message to the perpetrators of crimes against humanitarian law, and especially those

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

responsible for the unacceptable policy and practices of "ethnic cleansing", that, both individually and collectively, they will be held accountable for their actions.

In this context, the Government of Malta strongly shares the view that a strengthening of the sanctions regime is a primary objective at this stage. We are as outraged as others at reports of violations of the sanctions regime, especially through the abuse of transshipment exemptions, and we are fully committed to all efforts aimed at bringing these violations to an immediate end.

On Friday the representative of the United States made assertions in this regard that concern also ships carrying the Maltese flag. My Government was informed of these assertions only last week. The United States Government was informed that the alleged abuses were being referred to the competant maritime authorities for investigation and appropriate action.

In our view, the statement on Friday by the representative of the United States would thus have been more factually complete and objective if it had acknowledged these facts instead of limiting itself to the basic allegations. The Maltese authorities, in fact, reacted immediately to the information that was provided and prior to last Friday had officially notified the owners of the vessels in question that they would recommend the closure of the vessels' registry should the allegations that had been made prove to be correct. These notices were also brought to the attention of the registered mortgagees.

Malta's adherence to the decisions of the Security Council has been consistent and unequivocal throughout. Malta is determined to continue its

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

support and cooperation in the implementation of measures taken by the Security Council to bring an end, it is hoped, to the many violations of the right to life and other fundamental human rights that the international community is witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Malta for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHERBI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): It is my great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, the sincere congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your outstanding personal qualities and your long diplomatic experience are sure guarantees that you will effectively guide the work of the Council.

We also congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Mérimée of France, on the skilful manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

The initiative of the Organization of the Islamic Conference that led to this debate was important and timely.

In his moving statement, the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Sacirbey, described objectively, with restraint and without exaggeration the full scope of the current tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since the August resumption of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly to address the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the situation has

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

greatly deteriorated, and now constitutes a challenge to the United Nations and, above all, to the Security Council in their mandate to maintain international peace and security. The situation in the political, military, humanitarian and human rights spheres is unacceptable.

Algeria, which since last April has been informing the Security Council of the gravity of the situation and the possible risk of escalation, is following with emotion and indignation the painful events in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which grow worse daily.

We have come to the inevitable conclusion that the measures the Security Council has taken thus far has tempered neither the clear aggression and unspeakable suffering imposed upon the people of that republic nor the mistreatment and serious human-rights violations, particularly the intolerable practice of "ethnic cleansing".

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

The agreements and cease-fires which were so painstakingly negotiated by the European Community and the United Nations have been ignored. Even humanitarian aid has been deliberately impeded, which, with the onset of winter, may well exacerbate the already catastrophic situation of the people of Bosnia.

Without wishing in any way to minimize the complexity of the situation or the importance of the decisions already taken by the Security Council, it is clear that further, even more decisive steps, are required if we intend to put an end to the battles which have already caused thousands of deaths as well as the displacement of populations to an extent already affecting 40 per cent of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Not only the Organization of the Islamic Conference but also world public opinion expect the Security Council to provide effective support for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their resistance to aggression and in ensuring that an end is put to the odious crimes which have been perpetrated there.

Similarly, the Council has the duty of rejecting anything which has been gained by aggression and to guarantee respect for the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the sovereignty of this State Member of the United Nations.

In the light of the fearful tragedy of the people of Bosnia, it is also essential that every step be taken to meet the challenge of providing and transporting essential basic products.

The draft resolution submitted by the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference cover most of these elements and should be given favourable consideration.

(Mr. Kherbi, Algeria)

It is now up to the Security Council to take all necessary steps to end the tragedy of the people of Bosnia and to avert the threats to peace and security in the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KABIR (Bangladesh): I have pleasure in expressing warm felicitations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of November. I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France for his commendable conduct of the work of the Security Council in October. We appreciate the endeavours of Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in discharging so well their onerous responsibility. We also welcome the report of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, which affords us a clear picture of the factual state of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From the time of the brutal aggression of Serbia against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have witnessed the Security Council initiate measures to restore peace in the region and ameliorate the sufferings of the victims of the conflict. We shall be remiss if we do not acknowledge the selfless devotion of the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force and the dedicated humanitarian service rendered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is obvious, however, that much more needs to be done to bring an end to this cruel conflict.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

The report of the Special Rapporteur reveals that a peaceful resolution of the crisis does not seem imminent and, in his words, the principal objective of the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the establishment of ethnically homogenous regions. "Ethnic cleansing" appears to be not the consequence of the war but rather its goal. This goal, to a large extent, has already been achieved through killing, torture, rape and other forms of atrocities. Conservative estimates indicate that over 100,000 people have been killed in Serbian attacks and that nearly half a million are likely to perish from exposure and starvation during the coming winter. If this were to happen, we need to ponder seriously over the recent comment of the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Haris Silajdzie, in Germany that:

> "Bosnia and Herzegovina is the beginning of the end of peace and order in post-war Europe".

The need has become even more imperative in the face of Serbia's brazen violation of the resolutions of the security Council and the London Peace Accords on the former Yugoslavia.

In his letter of 4 November 1992 to the President of the Security Council, the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina pointed out that the Serbian violation of their commitments, their intensification of "ethnic cleansing", particularly of Muslims, their maintenance of concentration camps, the retention and application of heavy weapons for inflicting civilian casualties on civilian townships, the increasing number of air attacks, the deliberate disruptions of heating, gas, electricity, and supply lines, and the intersification of efforts for the conquest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a view to completing their abhorrent plan of "ethnic cleansing" before a negotiated and constitutional arrangement is concluded

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

under international pressure. According to Lord Owen, some vested interests were using the "gaping holes" in the present embargo to supply Serbia with petroleum products down the Danube, across the Romanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian border, or from the Adriatic Coast.

We are now facing a situation whereby, through the brutal use of force and the despicable policy of "ethnic cleansing" and other atrocities, Serbia has acquired over 70 per cent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It would be regrettable if the Security Council remained a silent spectator while Serbia continued to flout the Council's decision by persisting in its policies of aggrandizement and genocide. Bangladesh firmly believes that the Council must display political determination to enforce its decision to reverse Serbian aggression by taking appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. Bangladesh cannot accept any seizure of territory by force. The solution to the crisis must ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So great has been the anguish and disappointment in the worsening tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that the people of Bangladesh have expressed profound indignation at the unacceptable turn of events in that tragic country. In view of the sensitivity of public opinion in my country on the issue, the Bangladesh Parliament discussed it at length recently and condemned the aggression against Bosnia. in a resolution the Parliament urged the Security Council to adopt appropriate measures to end Serbian atrocities against the men, women and children of Bosnia.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

The sanctions already imposed must, of course, be strictly enforced so that a clear message is sent to Serbia that the international community wishes to see an end to its abominable policies. The loopholes in the sanctions régime must be closed.

A strong signal should be conveyed to the Serbians from this debate that they must release all prisoners and detainees from the concentration camps and abolish all such camps immediately. Serbia must be made to realize that by pursuing the policy of "ethnic cleansing" it has violated the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and that it will therefore be held responsible for its crimes against humanity.

My delegation, like other delegations, strongly advocates that the Security Council seriously consider and create safety zones, land corridors and no-fire zones under United Nations protection in Bosnia and Herzegovina where refugees would be supported with relief assistance and food. The Security Council should also consider expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and an increase in its strength to enable it to protect the personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other relief agencies in the fulfilment of their humanitarian responsibilities.

Successive resolutions by the Council have failed to contain Serbian expansionist designs and its policy of "ethnic cleansing". Although the resolution on an arms embargo against former Yugoslavia was meant for the aggressor, its effect on the victims of aggression has been disastrous. In the face of the heavily equipped Serbs and their organized means of obtaining arms and ammunition supplies, the Bosnian minorities have remained helpless

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

targets of extermination. To prevent their total extinction they must be permitted to exercise their inherent right of self-defence against their enemy in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. We therefore share the views of other delegations that have espoused partial and selective lifting of the arms embargo in resolution 713 (1991). That would enable the Bosnians to defend themselves and deter the Serbians from pursuing a policy of expansionism, and it would also induce the latter to sit down at the negotiating table to find a political settlement. At the same time, if the Serbs continue their blatant violation of Security Council resolutions and the London Peace Accords my delegation feels that the Council should consider, sooner rather than later, the inevitability of taking collective enforcement measures to ensure compliance with the Council's decisions. Agreement to take such a decision may be a difficult one to achieve, but once reached, it would be a giant forward step towards deterring expansionism by bigger nations at the expense of weaker and smaller neighbours.

Even as we debate this issue here and now, the Bosnians' miseries continue, not just from the cold and bitter winter but from the tightening of the Serbian stranglehold as well. The events in Bosnia are not merely a sad commentary on our times. The situation there may become an unhappy reflection of the Security Council's capabilities at a time when the world community is putting increasing confidence in its ability to be more effective in the cause of peace and security. When in the recent past we saw the Council act in unison to uphold order with justice, our hope in the system was raised. We cannot and must not allow it to dissipate. Our faith will surely wither with the mounting sorrows of Bosnia. The Council has no option but to act resolutely and to act now. It must adopt a strong and effective

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

resolution and implement it with determination. To reinvigorate our trust in the Council, this human tragedy must be brought to a speedy end. The Council has an opportunity to do so. My delegation has every confidence that the Council will not let it pass.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Bangladesh for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CISSE (Senegal)(interpretation from French): Sir, your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council is a real source of satisfaction to my delegation, both because of your personal qualities and because of the excellent relations that exist between Hungary and Senegal. I should like to begin, therefore, by extending to you my warmest congratulations and by expressing my appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, Permanent Representative of France, for the important work accomplished during the past month.

The considerable efforts exerted by the international community and the numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council on the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina have not prevented it from deteriorating and verging on the intolerable and the unacceptable.

For more than six months that country, a Member of the Organization, has been a victim of outright and unpunished aggression, of all kinds of violations of its sovereignty and of the most fundamental human rights. Today, we are witnessing the gradual annihilation of the Bosnian people by killings, imprisonment and the dispersal of refugees wherever they can gain entry. In the name of human solidarity, respect for international morality

(Mr. Cissé, Senegal)

and the Charter of our Organization, the Senegalese delegation expresses its complete solidarity with that abused and battered country.

The Bosnian people can no longer be satisfied with our condolences and expressions of compassion while they continue to be the victims of collective killings, of detention in the conditions we know prevail in the persecution camps and of forced expulsions from their territory. Those sufferings have been compounded by the unacceptable practices of "ethnic cleansing", reminiscent of one of the most calamitous periods in human history.

Furthermore, the people of Bosnia cannot understand - nor can the delegation of Senegal - how the Security Council, the guarantor of international peace and security, can fail to provide them with the means to exercise, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, their right to self-defence when the aggressor, generously and regularly supplied with weapons in violation of the embargo to which it is, in principle, subject, is daily stepping up the destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its defenceless populations.

In this connection it is regrettable that, despite the relevant provisions of Security Council resolution 781 (1992), the city of Jajce, besieged on 26 and 27 October 1992, has now been occupied, its inhabitants compelled to abandon their homes and possessions and forced to swell the ranks of Bosnian refugees now exposed to hunger, cold, disease and misfortune.

In addition, according to the most recent estimates of the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international observers, some 400,000 Bosnians could die because of harsh winter weather. As things are going, that estimate could well prove to be optimistic.

(Mr. Cissé, Senegal)

For its part the European Economic Community has been making important efforts on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but we are unfortunately forced to acknowledge that the results achieved are not yet commensurate with the gravity of the situation.

(Mr. Cissé, Senegal)

For all these reasons, and given that the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina continues in utter contempt for resolutions 752 (1992) and 757 (1992), it is the view of the Senegal delegation that the Security Council should urgently take the necessary measures, first, to reaffirm the need for all States strictly to respect the territorial integrity and full sovereignty of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and, secondly, to authorize the Bosnian people to exercise, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, its inherent right to self-defence and enable it, through lifting the arms embargo now in effect, to obtain the necessary means to ensure its survival.

It is recognized that the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina are receiving all the weaponry they need from outside. To deprive the Bosnian people of equal opportunity is tantamount to letting it be annihilated. I am of the opinion that lifting the embargo is a factor that could discourage the aggressors or contain their destructive zeal.

I understand those who oppose such a measure. None the less, between the risk of conflicts spinning out of control and getting worse and the risk of witnessing the physical disappearance of a country and its people, my preference is for the lesser evil: safeguarding the Bosnian people and seeking the means of preventing the lifting of the embargo from broadening the scope of the conflict.

In conclusion I would reiterate my delegation's appreciation of the consistent attention the Security Council and the Secretary-General are giving the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time I wish to thank UNPROFOR, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen for their total commitment to the restoration of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Cissé, Senegal)

Peace will come only when all the prisoners and refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina can return to their homes and see their rights restored, when "ethnic cleansing" and its consequences have disappeared, and when a Constitution recognizing the territorial integrity of that country has been established.

The Security Council has a complex task before it. That is why we feel such anguish.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Senegal for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I call upon him.

Mr. MISIC (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Allow me, Mr. President, to extend my deep appreciation to you for convening these meetings of the Security Council in respect of the horrific situation in my country. Allow me also to express my gratitude to the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference for its role in bringing about these meetings. Finally I wish to express my deep appreciation to all delegations, from that of Afghanistan to that of Zimbabwe, that have spoken in our support at these meetings.

Let me also say that my delegation was deeply puzzled by the participation of a representative of the so-called government of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the work of this body, especially when one considers the conclusions of the Security Council in its resolution 777 (1992) and General Assembly resolution 46/242.

There appears to be no legal precedent or procedure that would allow the delegation in question to participate in these discussions, and we believe

(Mr. Misic, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

that this was done by the Council strictly out of good will. But it seems to me that good will towards the Belgrade régime has again failed to pay.

Mr. Djokic told this Council what his Government has done so far to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the war in Bosnia. The word "war" is an innappropriate notion. It cannot be called a war when heavily armed forces are fighting barehanded civilians. He has obviously confused notions. He has tried to camouflage terrorism and introduce it as though it were simply a war. That is nothing suprising. In fact Mr. Djokic told the Council what his Government has promised to do. If Mr. Djokic's Government fulfilled its promises, the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina would already be over.

In addition, he did not tell the Council anything that his Government has even tried to do. Instead of choosing a conciliatory approach, instead of being an envoy who is a little self-critical who conveys messages of good will if not of good deeds, he has repeated most of the old insinuations used by Serbian propagandists and their masters since the onset of the crisis in former Yugoslavia. To blame Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Bosnian leaders, Mr. Djokic has again elaborated old, unfounded accusations that the Belgrade leaders used as justification of their aggression, abhorrent "ethnic cleansing" and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, he has offered some new and alas again distorted "facts", fabricated and signed with the same hand that has left its bloody signature in the Bosnian wounds.

Allowing Mr. Djokic to address the Security Council today, I am afraid that we in this Chamber all got more than we bargained for.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Members will have received copies of a revised text of the draft resolution sponsored by Belgium, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, contained in document S/24808/Rev.1.

I should like to draw the attention of members to a change in the text: all references to Bosnia and Herzegovina should be understood to refer to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to vote on the revised draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote. It is so decided.

I shall now call upon those representatives who would like to make a statement before the vote.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): With regard to the present situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, our persistent position is that various parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina must immediately cease fire. The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be settled peacefully through dialogue and negotiations among all the parties concerned. We are not in favour of the use of force in whatever form.

In our view, all the international efforts should be conducive to an early negotiated settlement of the differences and disputes rather than complicating the situation. We are in favour of urging all the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately to cease their hostilities and seek a political solution to the conflict through negotiations.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

We support the positive efforts made by the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and especially the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee.

We are also in favour of calling for the immediate cessation of all forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina and the cessation of all violations of international humanitarian law.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

We appreciate and support all the humanitarian relief efforts made by the international community and urge all parties and others concerned to cooperate fully with a view to ensuring the smooth delivery of humanitarian assistance and the safety of United Nations and other personnel engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Some of the elements included in the draft resolution contained in document S/24808, which will be put to the vote, are in conformity with the foregoing position of China and are acceptable to us.

However, some of the contents of the present draft resolution are aimed at further strengthening the sanctions against Yugoslavia. It is known to all that on the occasion when Security Council resolution 757 (1992) was adopted, the Chinese delegation pointed out that sanctions would not help solve the problem, that they would, on the contrary, further aggravate the situation in the former Yugoslavia and create serious consequences affecting the lives of the people in the region and the economy of the neighbouring States. Therefore, we cannot accept such contents. It also needs to be pointed out that it is inappropriate for the draft resolution to refer to the report of the Special Rapporteur on human rights. It is not within the purview of the Security Council to handle the human-rights issue.

Since the draft resolution contains both elements acceptable to us and elements unacceptable to us, the Chinese delegation will abstain in the voting on this draft resolution.

Finally, I should like to reiterate once again that the Chinese Government and people strongly urge all the parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to act in the interest of all the people there, turn swords into ploughshares and replace hatred with reconciliation, and, with the help of the international community, find an appropriate and fair solution to their conflict within the framework of the International Conference.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): On 30 May 1992, when this Council considered the adoption of resolution 757 (1992), Zimbabwe expressed serious doubts about the validity of the underlying assumptions that led to the adoption of that resolution. Put crudely, the assumption was that the relationship between the Bosnian Serbs and the Serbian Serbs was that of the puppet and the puppeteer. On this assumption, it was therefore logical that the best way to immobilize the puppet was to exert pressure on the puppeteer through a tough regime of economic and other sanctions.

Those who have worked closely on efforts to resolve the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past six months can testify that the Bosnian Serbs are anything but the puppets of Belgrade. Of course this is not to say that Belgrade is totally devoid of influence. But, then, there is an important distinction between the ability to control and the ability to influence. As we all know, the ability to influence has its limitations. If this Council were to impose punitive sanctions on all countries that are perceived to have influence on one party or the other in the various conflict situations around the globe, we would have a very long list indeed.

The irony of the present situation is that the country targeted for punitive measures, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, withdrew its forces from Bosnia and Herzegovina some six months ago. Yet, as we consider further measures against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the draft resolution before us, there are thousands of foreign troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina who have repeatedly defied the resolutions of the Council calling for their withdrawal. No punitive measures are being considered by the Council in spite of this continuing act of defiance. All that the Council is prepared to do is reaffirm its call for elements of the Croatian army to be withdrawn.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

The evolution of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past six months has done nothing to erase our original doubts. In fact, available evidence does not make it possible for my delegation to adopt a position on the draft resolution before us different from the position we took on resolution 757 (1992). My delegation therefore will abstain on this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/24808/Rev.1, as orally revised, in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There were 13 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The revised draft resolution, as orally revised, in its provisional form, has therefore been adopted as resolution 787 (1992).

I shall now call on representatives who wish to make a statement following the voting.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): Austria voted in favour of resolution 787 (1992) because it contains a number of necessary elements. One is a reaffirmation of previous demands by the Security Council addressed in particular to the Serbian side. Another is the tightening of the sanctions

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

regime. Sanctions are not aimed at the population of Serbia and Montenegro; they are designed to bring about a change of policy in Belgrade. Today's decision of the Council should also contribute to more effective implementation of sanctions.

The resolution also reflects the Austrian proposal to create safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The rapid establishment of such areas would be a decisive contribution to alleviating the problem of refugees and displaced persons, which has reached such dramatic proportions that it has largely exhausted the capacities of other States to provide even temporary refuge. Once such safe areas are established, they should not only provide safety for their present inhabitants but also encourage others to return to their former homes.

Today we have invited the Secretary-General to study the possibility of and the requirements for such areas. Obviously, in the light of the horrendous plight of the population concerned, this cannot be an academic exercise. Consequently, we hope that the Secretary-General will urgently examine this issue and report to the Security Council as soon as possible in order to enable us to take the necessary decisions before it is too late.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.